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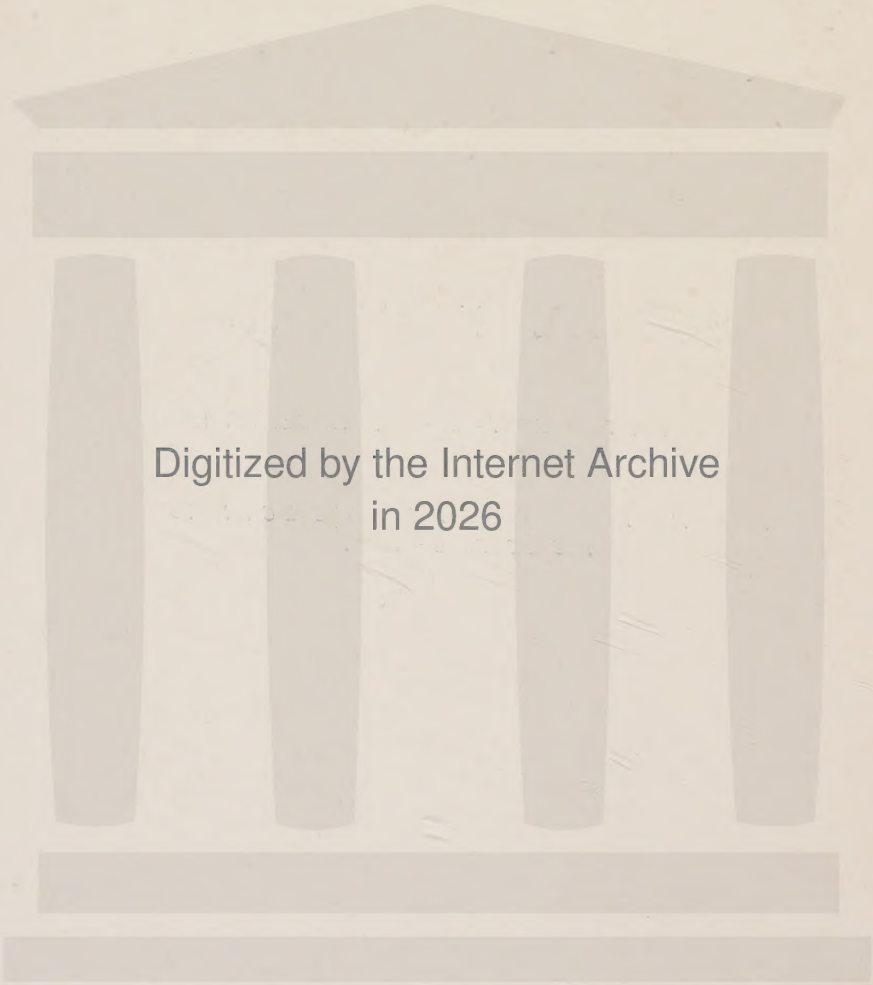
ILLUSTRATED EDITION—VOL. III. SECTION I.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY THE EIGHTH TO THE DEATH OF MARY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IVSTICE
VERITE
Omme la paix entre dieu et ses hõmes.
Par le moyen de la vierge marie.
fut iadis faicte ainsy a preset sõmes.
Bourgoys frãçoys deschargez de nos sõmes
Car marie auecq nous se marie.

MARY TUDOR,

THE MESSENGER OF PEACE.

SOCIAL ENGLAND

A Record of the Progress of the People

In Religion, Laws, Learning, Arts, Industry, Commerce, Science, Literature and Manners, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day

EDITED BY

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MARY TUDOR, THE MESSENGER OF PEACE . . . . *Frontispiece*

MS. Vesp. B. ii. (*see* note on illustration, p. 4, below).

PORTRAIT OF HENRY VIII., HAMPTON COURT . . . . *Facing* 1

Attributed by different authorities to Holbein, Girolamo da Treviso, Janet, and other artists; probably painted in 1536. *See* E. Law, *Guide to Hampton Court*, p. 54.

GROAT OF HENRY VIII., STRUCK AT TOURNAY 2

Henry VIII. held Tournay from September, 1513, to February, 1519. The name is on the reverse. The coin is of the same type as the English groat of his first issue, which bears Henry VII.'s portrait. Grueber, *Catalogue of English Coins in British Museum*, p. 84.

RING OF JAMES IV. (given him by Anne of Bretagne) 3

SWORD OF JAMES IV., CAPTURED AT FLODDEN 3

"James is said to have clad several men in the same dress as himself, that he might not be known and might take the place of an ordinary combatant. It was variously rumoured in Scotland that he had survived, that he had been treacherously slain after the battle, and that he had gone to the Holy Land. But his body was recognised, and the sword, dagger, and ring at the Heralds' College attest his death" (Æneas Mackay, in the *Dictionary of Nat. Biog.*).

THE ANGLO-FRENCH ENTENTE OF 1514 4

From a French MS. account of the reception of Mary Tudor in Paris and the devices displayed in her honour by the guilds and civic authorities of the city. This was shown at the Porte St. Denis, on the drawbridge by which the Princess was to enter the city. The four winds, "Subsolanus" or Southern, Boreas, Auster, and Zephyrus, are wafting the ship onward; it is steered by Paris (the city, not the Trojan hero), and carries Bacchus with his vine-branch and Ceres with her sheaf, and represents the city of Paris, in the granaries of which there are corn and wine in abundance. Honour, with the arms of France, is above; the two men holding darts are guarding the honour of the ship. In the rigging are sailors "singing musically" the following verse:

Noble dame, bien soyez venue en France:
Par toy unions en plaisir et en joye;
Ffrancoys Anglais unient à leur plaisance;
Louange à dieu du bien qui vous envoye.

During a halt before this device a chosen speaker addressed the Princess with a verse of welcome, and she then entered the city and was received by the civic authorities. The above account is taken from the original MS.

HENRY VIII. ON HIS WAY TO THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD . 5

In this contemporary painting, once attributed erroneously to Holbein, "every incident of the interview between the two Sovereigns

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is depicted with the most minute and elaborate historical accuracy." On the left hand is shown the arrival of the English cavalcade, in the foreground is the chief part of the procession, with the King prominent, Wolsey by his side, and the Marquis of Dorset in front with the sword of State; on the right is the plain of Ardres, studded with tents; in the foreground the famous temporary palace, put together in a few weeks; outside its gate are two gold fountains spurting wine; to the right the lists; lower down, the kitchens, with dinner going on in a tent; in the upper left-hand corner, the artificial dragon or salamander that appeared in the sky when mass was being sung by the Cardinal and Bishops. *Cf.* Law, *Guide to Hampton Court*, and our text, p. 336.

CARDINAL WOLSEY 7

This portrait, reproduced from the photograph in the National Portrait Gallery of the contemporary drawing by Jacques Le Boucq of Artois, preserved in the library at Arras, is said to show Wolsey at an earlier age than his other portraits, and without the wart on his nose represented in some of them. *Cf.* Gairdner, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

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Used from his accession to 1532. Closely resembles that of Henry VII., but has a lion rampant added on the obverse.

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THE OLD GUILDHALL, LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK 17

Lavenham ("Lanham" in Stow's Chronicle) was one of the chief seats of the cloth manufacture, and the tax referred to had constrained the employers to discharge many of their men, whence the revolt.

SIGNATURE OF WOLSEY 21

He signs as Cardinal and Archbishop of York.

THE POPULAR CREED 23

From a Spanish book of devotions of about 1450, but given here because it might easily be interpreted as embodying the crude popular conception that salvation could be purchased by offerings, against which the Reformers protested, much as Plato in the *Republic* had denounced the Orphic priests of his own time. The priest is saying masses for the souls of the dead; on the left is Paradise, on the right Purgatory, out of which the souls rise as the masses are said; in the background, Hell; kneeling at the altar, a grandee, apparently hoping to purchase his own salvation by the offering of a church.

THE DANCE OF DEATH 25

From a Flemish Book of Hours of great beauty; late 15th cent.

"ST. LOY A HORSE LEECH" 27

St. Loy, more properly St. Éloi or Eligius, Bishop of Noyon in the seventh century, began life as a goldsmith, and is the patron of that craft, as well as of veterinary surgeons and smiths. His

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title to the veneration of the two last-named trades rests on the legend that, having occasion to shoe a horse, he took off the leg and restored it safe and sound. This miracle, which has escaped his friend and biographer St. Owen, Archbishop of Rouen, is depicted in a German MS. of prayers to saints (Egerton 859, fifteenth century) in the British Museum, and in the stone carving here shown (from Wincanton Church, Somerset), which has evidently suffered at the hands of Protestant iconoclasts.

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PALACE GATEWAY, CAWOOD, NEAR YORK 39

A palace of the Archbishop of York existed here from Old English times; it was mostly destroyed during the Civil Wars. The gate-house is said to have been built between 1325 and 1350.

ANNE BOLEYN 41

According to Woltmann (Holbein, Bunnett's trans. p. 384) this picture is comparatively recent, but may have been copied from an original portrait. It is commonly ascribed to Holbein, incorrectly according to Sir G. Scharf and Waagen. The portraits usually published as those of Anne Boleyn are mostly taken from one at Berlin, which represents someone else; Woltmann, *ibid.*

BULL OF POPE CLEMENT VII. AGAINST HENRY VIII.'S DIVORCE . . 45

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At Althorp; *cf.* Waagen, *Treasures of Art in England*, III., 456.

FOUNTAINS ABBEY 51

A Cistercian house, founded in 1132 by monks who withdrew from Rievaulx in consequence of a relaxation of the rules, and put themselves under Bernard of Clairvaux.

TITLE PAGE OF THE GREAT BIBLE, 1539 53

Henry VIII., a coarsely executed portrait, is giving out Bibles to bishops and warriors; on his right Cranmer is distributing to priests; and on his left, Cromwell, to laymen. Below is a priest, preaching from 1 Tim. ii. 1, and the congregation are shouting "Vivat Rex." In the lower corner is a prison, possibly for ultra-Protestants (*see* text, p. 78).

TOMB OF SIR RICHARD HERBERT, ABERGAVENNY CHURCH . . . 55

Sir Richard Herbert was father of William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke of the second creation, who by his marriage with the sister of Catherine Parr was brother-in-law of Henry VIII.; and was illegitimate son of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke of the first creation, who died in 1469. The Herberts had been established in south-eastern Wales from the thirteenth century.

SECOND AND THIRD SEALS OF HENRY VIII. 57

As the second seal (1532–1541) is the last royal seal which shows Gothic architecture, and the third (1542–1567) the first which exhibits that of the Renaissance, the year 1541 may be taken as the approximate date of the change in national taste in building. The third seal, it will be noted, describes the king as "supreme head on earth of the Church of England and Ireland."

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HENRY VIII. AT HIS DEVOTIONS 58

From his own Psalter, with notes in his handwriting.

PAGE FROM THE "INSTITUTION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN" 61

The body of the work is in the handwriting of a secretary, the corrections are in that of the King himself.

CHAPEL NEAR LYMPNE, KENT, IN WHICH THE "HOLY MAID" PROPHESIED 63

Elizabeth Barton, the "Holy Maid of Kent," when in service at Aldington, about 1525, developed religious mania during recovery from an illness. Her master, a steward of one of Archbishop Warham's estates, together with the parish priest, supposed her to be inspired, and Warham himself shared the belief. When she recovered, the steward treated her as one of his family, and she was tempted to keep up her character as prophetess. By Warham's order, two monks from Christ Church, Canterbury, were sent to report on her condition, and one of them, named Bocking, instructed her to prophesy adversely to the Protestants. He then announced that she would perform a miracle, and on the day appointed she was taken to the chapel, shown and laid before the image of the Virgin. She there fell into a trance, and a "voice speaking within her belly" preached the duty of hearing mass, confessing, going on pilgrimage, etc. She was then removed to St. Sepulchre's priory at Canterbury, and, with Bocking as her confessor, was established as a prophetess. She strongly opposed Henry VIII.'s divorce from Queen Catherine, and predicted that he would die within a month after his second marriage. When the prediction was not fulfilled, she declared that he was no longer king in the sight of God; she was therefore arrested, and confessing her imposture was executed with her accomplices at Tyburn in 1534. *See* Mr. S. L. Lee's article on her in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

THE CARTHUSIANS IN PRISON 65

From a print showing the sufferings of Roman Catholic priests under Henry VIII., dated Rome, 1555, and preserved in the British Museum. The Priors of three Carthusian Houses, named Houghton, Lawrence, and Webster, are shown in one compartment being drawn on hurdles to the place of their execution; the section given shows Humphrey Middlemore, the vicarius or deputy of the prior, William of Mewe, the procurator, and Sebastian Newdegate, senior monk, who were kept in chains "in a filthy dungeon" without intermission for fourteen days, and subsequently hanged, with the aggravations of that punishment customary in the execution of State prisoners until a much later date.

THE CLOISTERS, CHARTERHOUSE, LONDON 67

The Carthusians were confined here before their execution.

CHALICE OF ST. ALBANS ABBEY 69

At the Dissolution of the greater abbeys this chalice came into the possession of Sir Thomes Pope, one of the Commissioners, who afterwards presented it to Trinity College, Oxford, which he founded on the site of Durham College.

RUINS OF FOUR FAMOUS ABBEYS 71

Kirksted, between Lincoln and Boston, a Cistercian house, founded 1139; Whalley Abbey, near Clitheroe, Lancashire, was also Cistercian; the ruins comprise a gatehouse and part of the church, built in 1296. Colchester (Augustinian) was founded *temp.* Henry I.; the last abbot

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was hanged outside the gate. Barlings Abbey (Premonstratensian), founded *temp.* Henry II., is near Lincoln; the last prior was hanged for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace.

THE ABBEY GATE AT READING 75

Reading Abbey (Benedictine) was founded before the Norman Conquest and refounded by Henry I., who was buried here, as also his daughter Maud, and her grandson William, eldest son of Henry II. In its great hall, part of which is still standing, many Parliaments were held, and Edward IV. was married to Elizabeth Woodville; in its church John of Gaunt was married. The morals of its inmates at the Reformation were in the worst possible repute. Henry VIII. converted it into a palace, and it was almost destroyed in the Civil Wars between Charles I. and the Parliament. The gateway here shown fell down in 1861 and was restored by Sir Gilbert Scott.

PROCLAMATION AGAINST ANABAPTISTS 79

JOHN RUSSELL, FIRST EARL OF BEDFORD 85

The Russells were a Dorsetshire family, who were well established early in the fifteenth century. John Russell seems to have owed his start in life to the Archduke Philip, who, when cast on the English coast near Weymouth, was entertained by a connection of Russell, who introduced the youth, then about twenty, to him. The Archduke took him to Court, and he was given an appointment by Henry VIII. and became a favourite with his son.

BRASS OF SIR THOMAS BOLEYN 87

Sir Thomas Boleyn's grandfather was Lord Mayor of London in 1457, and bought the manor of Blickling, Norfolk, from Sir John Fastolfe. Sir Thomas himself purchased Hever Castle in Kent (lately a good deal restored), and died there in 1539. He had been created Earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde ten years previously.

GATES OF BOULOGNE, CAPTURED UNDER HENRY VIII. 91

These gates, captured in 1544, were given by the king to Thomas Hardres, who erected them at his house, Hardres Court, Kent. After the death of the last male representative of the family, in 1764, the house passed to his wife's heirs. The gates were presented by one of them to a Mr. Godfrey Faussett, who, however, did not remove them. When the house was sold, the purchaser, not knowing of the gift and being no antiquary, disposed of them to the local blacksmith, who destroyed them for the sake of the iron they contained. They were afterwards drawn from memory by Mrs. Taylor, of Bifrons, the last representative of the Hardres family who had lived in the house; her sketch was reproduced in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. IV., from which our illustration is taken, together with the substance of the above note.

AN ENGLISH ARMY ABOUT 1540. 93

This shows the normal order of the sixteenth century, with a "vaward" (vanguard), "main battle," and "rear-ward." In each division, it will be noted, the billmen are flanked with bowmen, while there are a few arquebusiers on the wings. This picture and the coloured plate are from a collection of drawings of the sixteenth century in the Cotton collection.

SOLDIERS OF THE TUDOR PERIOD, I. . . . . *to face* 94

A BATTLE SCENE (*see* above, note on p. 62) 95

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SOLDIERS OF THE TUDOR PERIOD (for the MS. *see* note on p. 93) . 97

THE BATTLEFIELD OF FLODDEN TO-DAY 99

A view of Branxton Ridge (in the middle distance) looking southward, as seen from the direction of Coldstream Station. Stanley's position was at Branxton village, where the ridge dips on the left. Piper's Hill, where the Scots centre and reserve were finally defeated, is on the right, below the nearer end of the trees on the distant hill.

VIEW FROM RYE, SHOWING POSITION OF CAMBER CASTLE . . . 101

In the marshes, between Rye and Winchelsea, now a long way from the sea, which is on the spectator's left.

EMBARKATION OF HENRY VIII. IN THE *GREAT HARRY*, 1520 . . . 105

The view is taken from the south-west of Dover Harbour; the *Great Harry* is just leaving. The king is on the main deck, attired in crimson, with a cloak of cloth of gold. The picture is contemporary, and attributed to Vincent Volpe.

PORTION OF THE PUMP OF THE *MARY ROSE* 106

LONGBOWS FROM THE *MARY ROSE* 107

THOMAS HOWARD, THIRD DUKE OF NORFOLK 110

Lord High Admiral in 1513; helped to suppress the rising of the unemployed clothworkers in Suffolk in 1525, and Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion; uncle of Catherine Howard. This portrait (by Holbein) is at Norfolk House.

ERASMUS, BY HOLBEIN 113

This portrait, which is in the Salon Carré at the Louvre, has a cipher inscription on the back stating that it once belonged to Charles I. of England, who presented it to Louis XIII. of France in return for Leonardo's St. John. A similar portrait, with a simpler background, is at Basle; this latter and a portrait of Longford Castle, near Salisbury, afford two main types of the portraits of Erasmus (Woltmann, *Hans Holbein*, trans. Bunnett, p. 188 *seq.*). Woltmann lays special stress on the masterly execution of the hands.

ALMSBOX AT HARBLEDOWN, KENT 115

The hospital was founded by Lanfranc in 1084; some of the Becket and other relics preserved in it are shown at Vol. I., p. 531. As travellers passed, one of the inmates would run out, sprinkle them with holy water and offer Becket's shoe to be kissed, expecting a coin in return. This happened to Erasmus and Colet. Erasmus, *Colloquies*, trans. by Nichols, 1875, p. 53. This box probably received Erasmus's contribution.

DEAN COLET, BY HOLBEIN (at Windsor Castle) 116

EDWARD VI.'S AUTOGRAPH 117

In a copy of the *Institutio Principis Christiani* of Erasmus, presented to Edward VI. when prince. He himself wrote the passage from Cicero, *De Amicitia* (xiii. 44), on the inside of the cover, possibly as an expression of the sentiments with which he looked forward to succeeding to the crown; his tutor (probably) wrote the explanation below. Thomas Baker, the antiquary, subsequently gave the book to the College, and transcribed the two passages on the opposite flyleaf that they might be more easily read. "To me" (says the speaker in Cicero) "it is a matter of no less concern what the condition of the State may be after my death, than what it is to-day."

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PLATE BEQUEATHED BY BISHOP FOX TO C.C.C., OXFORD . . . 119

The crosier, paten, and chalice, with two rings (episcopal with sapphire, signet with pelican) certainly belonged to the Bishop; the gold spoons, if not his, are but little later. Corpus Christi, like other colleges, gave up its plate to Charles I., but has more plate anterior to his time than most; a very natural explanation is that the more elaborately wrought articles were redeemed by a money payment, as the king wanted bullion, not workmanship. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi College* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), p. 200.

RELICS OF SIR THOMAS MORE, STONYHURST COLLEGE . . 125

The hat (*pileus*) was given to the Jesuit College at Brussels in 1654 by the rector of the college of Roermond, in Holland, which had received it from Godfrey Gilekens, Chancellor of the Supreme Court of Guelderland, who used to wear it in court on the anniversary of More's execution. The sodality crucifix, which bears a Greek inscription stating that it is a relic of St. Thomas the Apostle, and apparently contains relics of St. Charles Borromeo of Milan, was given, with the two seals, George, cameo, and cap mentioned below, by More's last descendant (Father Thomas More, a Jesuit) to the Sodality (or religious brotherhood) of Our Blessed Lady in the English College at St. Omer in 1755. Of the seals, one, of silver, bears an inscription indicating that it was used by More in his official capacity as sub-treasurer; the crest is a Moor's head, the handle a fleur-de-lis. Another seal, of cornelian, with the handle consisting of two crucifixes, may have belonged to his grandson Thomas More. The George (not the decoration of the Order of the Garter, of which More was not a member) has on the obverse St. George and the dragon in gold and enamel, on the reverse Christ stripped and surrounded with the instruments of His passion. The cameo bears the Virgin Mary's head. The pouncet box, which has a silver lid, was given by More's sister to a priest, and presented to the Jesuits of Stonyhurst by Father James Parker, who died in 1822; the silver reliquary, with crystal on both sides, contains a bone, and has an inscription indicating that it belonged to More. The other gold crucifix is beautifully enamelled. For the photographs we are indebted to Father Cortie, S.J., and for the description to the *Stonyhurst Magazine* for Feb., 1887.

WOODCUT FROM ASCHAM'S "SCHOLEMASTER," 1571 . . . 127

A tree growing out of an effigy on a tomb, with the motto, "Etsi mors indies accelerat post funera virtus vivet tamen" (though death hastens on daily, yet virtue will live on after the burial).

A BUCOLIC POET (from Jascuy's edition of Lyndsay, Paris, 1556) . . 130

SKELTON, FROM HIS "GARLANDE OF LAUREL" (ed. Faukes, 1523) . 131

A BIBLIOPHILE 134

The mere book collector: he describes himself thus—

> "Still am I besy bokes assemblynge,
> For to have plenty it is a pleasant thynge
> In my conceyt and to have them aye in honde,
> But what they mene do I not understonde."

Barclay's "Ship of Fools" is an adaptation, rather than a translation, of the "Narrenschiff" of Sebastian Brandt, "the most popular book of the later Middle Ages," and one of the literary preparatives for the Reformation. A good account of it is given in Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*.

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THE MORE FAMILY, FROM THE SKETCH BY HOLBEIN AT BASLE . . 137

On the spectator's extreme left is Elizabeth Damaea, daughter of Sir Thomas More, aged 21; next is Margaret Giga, wife of Clement, "fellow student and relative of his daughters," aged 22; below, John More, father of Sir Thomas, aged 76, and next him Sir Thomas More, aged 50. Between the two men is Anna Grisacria (Cresacre), betrothed to John More, aged 15; next to her, John More, son of Sir Thomas, aged 19; below, Henry Patenson, son-in-law of Thomas More, aged 40; by the sideboard, Alicia, wife of Sir Thomas More, aged 57; below her, Margaret Roper and Caecilia Heronia, daughters of Sir Thomas More, aged respectively 22 and 20. The names and ages will be seen appended to the figures, in Latin. The drawing was made in London in 1530.

TITLE-PAGE TO ASCHAM'S "TOXOPHILUS," 1571 139

Illustrating the defence of England against Rome and heresy, France and Scotland, by the Bible and the longbow.

SIR THOMAS WYATT THE ELDER 141

DUNKELD CATHEDRAL 145

The cathedral dates principally from the fifteenth century, but parts date back to the twelfth, and it stands on the site of one of the oldest churches in Scotland. The choir serves as the parish church. The ruined nave is here shown.

LYNDSAY AS LYON KING-AT-ARMS (from Jascuy's ed., Paris, 1556) . . 147

HENRY VIII. AS A MUSICIAN 148

From the Psalter executed for him, from which an illustration is given on p. 95. He is playing the harp, with his jester, Will Somers, in attendance. Like the illustration in Vol. II., p. 362, this is placed at Psalm liii.

SONG COMPOSED BY HENRY VIII. 149

From a MS. book of music (*see* text, p. 150), which once belonged to Henry VIII., and contains (out of a total of 112 pieces) eighteen songs and ballads and fifteen instrumental pieces bearing his name. Others are also ascribed to him from internal evidence. They were written in the first six years of his reign. One, attributed also to the king, and entitled "Grene groweth the Holly," contains this couplet—

> "As the holly groweth grene and never changeth hue,
> So am I constant to my lady true."

But it is fair to add that it was written in 1516. The book is described by W. Chappel, *Archæologia*, xli.

TENANT PAYING RENT 151

The frontispiece to Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's "Boke of Surveying," printed by Thomas Pynson, and dated July 15th, 1523, in the colophon at the end.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS 154

Shepherds, Faustus and Amyntas by name, who discourse somewhat after the manner of their Virgilian prototypes on the relative merits of country and town life. Barclay's fourth and fifth Eclogues are imitations of those of Joannes Baptista Mantuanus.

PLOUGHING AN OPEN FIELD 155

The balk, or barrier, between the strip shown and the next is visible in the foreground. *Cf.* note on Vol. II., p. 135.

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CHARTER GRANTED BY HENRY VIII. TO TRINITY HOUSE . . . 157

From an illuminated MS. at Trinity House.

POET'S CORNER: A BIT OF OLD MANCHESTER 160

Long Millgate: one of the houses bears the date 1623, but it is believed to be for the most part much older. Ashworth, *Sketches of Old Manchester and Salford*, 1878.

UTOPIA REVEALED 161

The supposed discoverer, Raphael Hythloday (*hythlodaeus*, dissector of trifles), telling his story to More and his friends. From the Basle edition of 1516.

VIEW OF THE ISLAND OF UTOPIA 163

Except for the insertion of the city of Amaurote and the river Anyder, "it cannot be said that the artist has attempted to follow More's description. (*Utopia*, Book ii.) The island is described by More as shaped like the new moon, and enclosing an inland sea.

MONEYERS AT WORK 165

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD 167

From reliefs round the inner court of the Hotel Bourgthéroulde, Rouen, a splendid private house of the sixteenth century. They are very nearly contemporary, and are described by Nodier, *Voyage Pittoresque dans l'ancienne France (Normandie)*, Vol. II., p. 81. Possibly, as Nodier thinks, Francis I. stayed in the house.

BRASS OF THOMAS POWNDER, NOTARY, AND HIS WIFE 173

St. Mary Quay, Ipswich: an exceptionally fine engraved brass, which is said to show traces of Flemish influence.

A CITIZEN 177

OSENEY ABBEY AND ITS LAST ABBOT 179

In the south aisle of the Cathedral, Christ Church, Oxford, above the tomb of the last Abbot, King, who became the first Bishop of Oxford. The background is said to be the best existing representation of Oseney Abbey. The glass was taken down and preserved by one of the Bishop's family during the Commonwealth, and put up again at the Restoration.

OLD BRISTOL HIGH CROSS 182

Originally erected in 1373, reconstructed in 1633; taken down in 1763, and removed five years later to Stourhead Park, Wilts; carefully restored in 1895.

THE GREAT BED OF WARE 185

Formerly at an inn at Ware, and now at the Rye House Hotel, Broxbourne, Herts. It held twelve persons.

SIGNAL FOR CHESTER FAIR 186

A wooden hand, hung up when the fair was about to open; now in the Mayer Museum, Liverpool.

FORESTALLER IN THE PILLORY 187

From a print published in 1746 by the Society of Antiquaries, and taken "from the original table [of weights and measures in the reign of Henry VII.], formerly in the Treasury of the King's

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Exchequer at Westminster, and now preserved in the MS. library of the late Earl of Oxford," which became the Harleian collection, now in the British Museum. The original is lost.

FIREPLACE OF JOHN VEYSEY 190

From his house at Cambridge, 1538; shows the arms of the Grocers' Company.

A SICK-BED 193

Appended to verses "Of them that be diseased and sick and are impatient and inobedient to the physician." (*See* above, on p. 134.)

BILL OF MORTALITY, ABOUT 1512 195

Part of a list of deaths "from the Plague and oder dyseases" in London from November 16th to November 23rd, probably in 1512; preserved in a collection of letters and papers relating to the early Tudor period, in the British Museum.

SIR WILLIAM BUTTS (after Holbein; painted when he was 59). . . 197

HENRY VIII. PRESENTING THE CHARTER TO THE COMPANY OF BARBER SURGEONS 199

This picture contains portraits of Chambers, Butts, and other leading surgeons of the time. It is 10 ft. 2 in. by 3 ft. 11 in.

CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK (artist unknown) . . . 202

HENRY VIII.'S FOOT ARMOUR 204

"It is a complete suit for fighting on foot in the lists, and comfort and ability to move about have been sacrificed to perfect protection. It weighs about 93 lb., and is composed of 235 separate pieces of metal." W. J. Loftie, *Official Guide to the Tower of London.*

JOUSTS AT WESTMINSTER, FEBRUARY 13TH, 1510 . . . *to face* 204

"In honour of the Queen Katharine upon the birth of their eldest son, Prince Henry." The four knights were the king (Cœur Loyal), the Earl of Devon (Bon Vouloir), Sir Thomas Knyvett (Vaillant Desir), and Sir Edward Nevill (Joyeux Penser). They are described in Hall's Chronicle and by Holinshed under the year 1510. The infant Prince unhappily died nine days afterwards. These drawings, published in *Vetusta Monumenta*, I., are here photographed directly from the original roll preserved at the College of Arms.

HENRY VIII.'S TILTING ARMOUR 205

Given to Henry VIII. by the Emperor Maximilian, and engraved with roses, pomegranates, portcullises, and other badges of Henry VIII. and Katherine of Aragon; this was made by Conrad Seusenhofer, of Augsburg. The horse's armour is thought to have been made in England by one of Henry's German armourers. Among the engravings on it are scenes from the life of St. George and St Barbara. Traces of the silver coating of the armour still remain. Loftie, *Official Guide to the Tower of London*, p. 24.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY 207

The recorder or whistle flute (Nos. 1, 2, 3; *Hamlet*, Act III., scene 3) was made in various sizes for playing in "consorts" of four or six parts. They ranged from the highest treble ($5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long) to the contra bass (11 feet long). In the deeper flutes a curved brass crook brought the finger holes within the performer's reach. The pipe and tabor were generally played by the same person, the whistle pipe,

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with only three holes but nearly two octaves in compass, being held in the left hand, while the tabor was slung from the left arm and played by the right hand with a drumstick. The hornpipe (No. 5), a rustic clarinet, the Welsh *pibgorn*, gave its name to the dance. The shawm (No. 6), perhaps the ancestor of the oboe (Lat. *calamus*), is played with a double reed. The pommer (No. 7), a deep-pitched variety of the shawm, had, like the flutes, complete sets for "consorts." The brass pommer is now superseded by the bassoon. The cromhorn, or krumhorn (8, 9), whence the organ stop cremona, is played with a double reed concealed within a wooden cup, and so is akin to the bagpipe. The cornets, much used in the sixteenth century, have a small cup-shaped mouthpiece something like that of the modern cornet, but the wooden tube of the instrument is pierced with holes like a flute. It is an error to suppose that it was played like a reed. These instruments, and others to be shown hereafter, belong to the remarkable collection of the Rev. F. W. Galpin, of Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex, by whose courtesy we are enabled to reproduce them. They have been described by W. Lynd, *Ancient Musical Instruments* (James Clarke & Co., 1897).

A Popular Pageant 209

A restoration of the pageant of the Smiths' Company of Coventry, executed by David Jee for Thomas Sharp's *Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry*, 1825. The waggon is stationed near the Cross, in the Cross-cheaping, the houses being restored from examples extant at the date of the drawing; the armed guard round it is inserted on the authority of an item in the accounts of expenditure on the pageant for 1469. On the ground are seated the persons who drew the vehicle from station to station; in the foreground are three minstrels and a carpenter, who is also mentioned in the accounts. The Smiths' pageant was concerned with the Passion, and Pilate is here represented washing his hands. Beside the principal figure will be seen Annas and Caiaphas in mitres. The vanes, crest, streamer, embattlement, and curved boards for the top of the pageant are charged for in various extant accounts. Frequently the waggon had two stories, the lower serving as a dressing room, but the construction of the upper story or "scaffold" is uncertain. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–22, from which the above is condensed.

Iron Fireback of 1550 (*cf.* Vol. II., p. 552, note) 211

With the device of the salamander and date.

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey 213

Formerly attributed to Holbein, but now ascribed conjecturally to Guillim Stretes, from whom Edward VI. is known to have bought a picture of the Earl in 1551.

"Palmer, Pedlar, and Poticary". 214

From an interlude, printed between 1543 and 1547 (possibly 1544) by William Myddelton, by John Heywood, playwright and epigrammatist, who was "beloved and rewarded by Henry VIII. for his musical talents, ready wit, and perhaps his buffooneries," and who was one of the few people able to make Queen Mary laugh. The Palmer recites his pilgrimages; the Pardoner ridicules him for going so far when he might have bought a pardon at home; the Apothecary introduces himself as necessary to the Pardoner's business; and the Pedlar acts as judge in a contest in lying, which results in a tie. In spite of all this, Heywood was a Romanist at heart (*see* note on p. 238). Warton, *English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, IV., p. 87; A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, I., 244.

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AN INTERIOR 214

From the first and only edition of John Heywood's *Spider and Flie* (*see post*, note on p. 238), a dreary (and lengthy) epical allegory which historians of literature have confessed themselves unable to get through. The figure seems to be the poet, whose window a fly enters "through the lattice"—a proof that the use of glass was not yet well established; it is presently entangled in a cobweb. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, IV., p. 87.

KATHARINE PARR (probably by an English artist) 215

Acquired by the National Gallery in 1897.

JANE SEYMOUR, BY HOLBEIN 217

Probably painted in 1537, and said to resemble a figure of this queen in a portrait group destroyed in the fire at Whitehall in 1698, of which a copy, made for Charles II., exists at Hampton Court. The original sketch for this picture is at Windsor Castle.

BRASSES SHOWING COSTUME OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY 219

PRINCESS MARY AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-EIGHT 221

On panel, 27 in. by 21 in., painted in 1544 by Joannes Corvus.

A SALT CELLAR OF 1518 222

Of the hour-glass form; "six-sided, with raised lobes alternately ornamented and plain." *Cf.* Cripps, *Old English Plate*, p. 272 *seq.*

THE RICHMOND CUP 223

Presented to the Armourers' Company in 1557 by John Richmond; 13 in. high, weight 51 oz.; "its style speaks for itself, and recalls the simple but elegant make of the hour-glass salts of about the same date." Cripps, *Old English Plate*, pp. 303, 305.

HUGH LATIMER (1555; artist unknown) 224

LATIMER READING BEFORE EDWARD VI. 225

According to Foxe, "he preached actively throughout Edward VI.'s reign, for the most part every Sunday twice," and especially before the king at the Court, "in the same place of the inward garden [at Whitehall] which was before applied to lascivious use and courtly pastimes." Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, Townsend's ed., VII., p. 463.

THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF EDWARD VI. 227

From the series of historical pictures executed probably by Theodore Bernardi, about 1550, for Sir Anthony Browne, of Cowdray House, Sussex. They were reproduced in *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. I. The originals perished when the house was burnt down in 1793. *Cf.* A. J. C. Hare, *Sussex*, p. 208.

MAXSTOKE CASTLE, WARWICKSHIRE 230

Much of the building dates from the fourteenth century; the dwelling-house was rebuilt in the seventeenth.

KIMBOLTON CASTLE, HUNTINGDONSHIRE 231

The estate was part of the dowry of Katharine of Aragon, who lived here after her divorce; at her death it reverted to the king, who sold it. The building was restored by Sir John Vanbrugh for the Earl (afterwards the first Duke) of Manchester, in 1707.

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HAMPTON COURT AS IT WAS UNDER HENRY VIII. 232

From a drawing by Hollar, reproduced in *Vetusta Monumenta*, I.

SOME FEATURES OF TUDOR PALACES 233

Reproduced from drawings published in *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vols. I. and II. Richmond Palace is from a drawing belonging to the Earl of Cardigan, published in 1765 (*Vet. Mon.*, II., plate xxiii.); Placentia or Greenwich, from a drawing in the possession of Dr. Ducarel at that date. The others will be found in *Vet. Mon.*, I.

MUSICIANS (*see* note to illustration on p. 62) 235

DECANTER; LEATHER JACKS 237

The decanter has a crest (a griffin's head on a coronet) and the letters I. I. in relief. The jacks are beer-jugs of a familiar medieval type.

HOUSEMAID OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY (*see* above, note on p. 214) . 238

The flies in the allegory are supposed to signify the Catholics, and the spiders the Protestants, Queen Mary being the maid, executing with her broom (the civil sword) the commands of her master Christ and her mistress the Church. Warton, *Hist. of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, IV., p. 86, note.

TWO LITTLE BOYS (part of the family of Thomas Maycock) . . . 239

SEAL OF BURY SCHOOL 242

Christ, surrounded by the disciples, blessing a little child, with the verse Mark x. 13 below in Latin, and an encircling inscription stating that this is the seal of the Free Grammar School of King Edward VI. of Bury St. Edmunds.

SEAL OF POCKLINGTON SCHOOL 243

John Doweman, Archdeacon of Suffolk, the founder, praying at a desk marked with his initials, before the Christ-child, the Virgin and Child, and St. Nicholas of Myra, the patron of children, on whose left are the three children whom he restored to life when their flesh was set before him in the form of bacon by a nefarious innkeeper. The encircling inscription states that this is the common seal of the Brotherhood of Jesus, Mary, and St. Nicholas of Pocklington.

LADY JANE GREY 244

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS 245

The "Organ Portative," the smallest form of pipe organ, was carried by a strap over the shoulder and could be played at the same time, the left hand working the bellows at the back. The "Bible Regal" is contained in a book-shaped case which, if reversed and attached at the back of the instrument, forms a bellows. The Treble Lute is remarkable for the sharp bend given to its head, which is turned back to render the instrument more compact and to give the strings a firmer bearing on the nut. The Psaltery and the Dulcimer of this period are very similar in outline, but in the former the strings are plucked by the fingers or a quill plectrum, in the latter they are struck by small hammers. The Rebec, a three-stringed popular fiddle, was probably among the instruments used by the musicians in *Romeo and Juliet*, act iv., scene 5.

WHEN HOOPER BURNED 247

See Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, Vol. III., p. 658.

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SCULPTURE COMMEMORATING THE BROTHERS DUDLEY 250

From the Beauchamp Tower in the Tower of London, which was used as a State prison during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and contains many inscriptions commemorating illustrious prisoners. The four brothers are Ambrose (created Earl of Warwick in 1561), Guilford (beheaded in 1554, Lady Jane Grey's husband), Robert (created Earl of Leicester in 1563), and Henry, killed at the siege of St. Quentin, 1558. The carving is by an elder brother, John, who died in 1554. Ambrose is commemorated by the wreath of roses, Robert by an oak (robur), Guilford by gillyflowers, and Henry by honeysuckle. The bear and the ragged staff are, of course, Warwick emblems.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE CESSION OF BOULOGNE 252

Henry II. of France had vainly attempted to capture the town, but it was ceded to him in 1550 for 400,000 crowns. On the obverse is his bust; on the reverse, Perseus rescuing Andromeda, with the words θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς (*Deus ex machina*). *Medallic Illustrations of English History in the British Museum*, I., p. 58.

EDWARD VI., AFTER HOLBEIN 253

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE RESTORATION OF ROMANISM . . . 255

On the obverse, Pope Julius III. in his robes; on the reverse, the Pope raising suppliant England, with Philip and Mary, Cardinal Pole and Charles V. The date is 1554.

CARDINAL POLE 256

A small picture on panel, ascribed to Titian, "showing somewhat careworn features and small blue-grey eyes."

SCARBOROUGH CASTLE 258

Built about 1127. Piers Gaveston was besieged here and forced to capitulate. During Wyatt's rebellion it was held by the Earl of Stafford, and it was twice besieged in the Civil Wars, and partly blown up on the second occasion, in 1648.

CHANTRY CHAPEL OF THE THREE KINGS, BRISTOL 261

Founded in 1504 by John Foster, mayor in 1481, in honour of God and the "Three Kings of Cologne." He endowed a priest to say masses for his soul and the souls of his relatives for twelve years only; a limit which probably saved the chapel from secularisation.

BISHOP GARDINER (by Holbein) 263

Gardiner kept the Mastership of Trinity Hall till his death, saying that "if all his palaces were blown down by iniquity, he would creep honestly into that shell."

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE STATE OF ENGLAND, 1555 265

On the obverse, a half-length figure of Mary; on the reverse, Mary seated, personifying Peace, stretching out palm and olive branches over a group of suppliants, and applying a torch to a pile of arms; a storm is depicted, which is about to clear. The inscription is *Cecis visus, timidis quies* (to the blind, sight; to the fearful, peace). The cube near Mary signifies stability, the scales justice. The design has been supposed to refer to the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion and the restoration of Catholicism, but is probably of more general application. *Medallic Illustrations*, I., p. 72.

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TITLE-PAGE TO THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI. . . . 267

This book is much nearer medieval usage than the Second Prayer Book, which is strongly Protestant, or the Elizabethan Prayer Books, which are a kind of compromise between their two predecessors. Among its characteristic features may be mentioned the shortness of the Morning and Evening Prayer, which begin with the Lord's Prayer (still called the Paternoster), omitting the Absolution and all that now precedes it; a "high" sacramentarian doctrine; the use of exorcism and unction in baptism, and the reference to a "chrism" or white vesture of the baptised; a form of lay baptism in cases of urgency; optional unction in the Visitation of the Sick; and some explicit references to the Apocrypha in the Marriage Service and elsewhere.

EDWARD VI. PRESENTING BRIDEWELL TO THE CITIZENS OF LONDON . 269

A MEMORIAL 272

In the Beauchamp Tower, at the Tower of London; probably referring to Lady Jane Grey, and carved either by Lord Guilford Dudley or his brother; *see* note on p. 250.

ALLINGTON CASTLE, NEAR MAIDSTONE 273

The birthplace of Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder (whose father had purchased it), and the meeting place of the associates of his son in the rebellion.

STEEL BAND THAT FASTENED CRANMER TO THE STAKE . . . 277

THE BURNING OF LATIMER AND RIDLEY 279

Ridley appealed to the Vice-Chancellor (who is shown promising to remember his suit) to prevent Bonner, his successor, from cancelling certain leases of the property of the see to "divers poor men," given by him when bishop. The burning probably took place in the town ditch, now occupied by Broad Street; the supposed site is marked by a cross in the pavement.

SIR JOHN CHEKE 281

"COVERDALE'S TOWER," PAIGNTON 285

Fourteenth century; part of the palace of the Bishops of Exeter, which Coverdale was the last of them to occupy before it was dismantled.

GATHERING MANNA, FROM THE GREAT BIBLE 286

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, FROM THE BISHOPS' BIBLE 287

The illustrations in this Bible are less decorative and more aimed at instruction than those of its predecessors, and even suggest a modern "Teachers' Bible" or "Polyglot."

HENRY VIII.'S BREECHLOADING MUSKET 289

The breech mechanism resembles that of a Snider rifle: *cf.* Loftie, *Guide to the Tower*, p. 27. The musket is a heavier piece than the harquebus, and is fired from a rest (*see* illustration, p. 292).

TOWER AT PINKIE HOUSE, MUSSELBURGH 291

This is the nucleus of the original building; the rest, as it now stands, seems to have been added in 1613. The Young Pretender slept here the night after Prestonpans. Part of the older building

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is said to have been used to receive the wounded after the battle of Pinkie.

MUSKETEER 292

MILITARY COSTUME, 1530–1560 (*see* note on p. 97) 293

SHIPPING IN THE CHANNEL 297

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF CALAIS 300

These two illustrations are from a large panoramic view of the approach to Calais, with the adjacent coasts, attributed to Vincent, painter to Henry VIII.

SECTION OF CABOT'S MAP OF THE WORLD, 1544 . . . . . 302, 303

An elliptical "mappe monde," discovered in the house of a Bavarian parish priest in 1843, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It is fully described by D'Avezac, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1857, and reproduced in Jomard, *Monuments de la Géographie*, plate XX. It is also described by Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III., p. 20 *seq.*, and by Admiral Jurien de la Gravière in an article in the *Revue des deux Mondes* for 1876, since republished in his *Marins du XVe et du XVIe Siècle*, 1879.

THORNE'S MAP (*see* text) 307

Preserved in an early work by Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America*, 1582.

SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY 313

Preserved at Wollaton Hall, Notts, the seat of his descendant Viscount Middleton, together with the two subjects following. The coat was his protection from the Arctic climate.

SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY'S CANVAS COAT 315

TWO CANNON FROM WILLOUGHBY'S SHIP 315

THE CZAR IVAN THE TERRIBLE (from a very early Russian woodcut) . 318

MOSCOW IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY 321

BURROUGH'S CHART OF THE WHITE SEA 323

Inserted in a copy of Saxton and Ryther's Atlas of England, 1579, which contains many MS. maps and charts. It was Lord Burghley's book, and contains memoranda in his handwriting.

VARDŌ IN 1594 325

From a book of Arctic voyages by Linschoten, a Dutch explorer.

BOYS WILL BE BOYS 327

"He which sitteth sleeping signifieth slothfulness amongst teachers, whose desire being satisfied, careth not for the charge; the children idleness, whose minds without a careful tutor are bent to nothing but ease and vanities." Bateman, *Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation*, accompanying this illustration.

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SEAL OF ILMINSTER SCHOOL, 1550 328

OLD SCHOOL BUILDINGS, SHREWSBURY 329

Built in the last half of the sixteenth century; used as a free library and museum since the removal of the school to a new site outside the town in 1885. The old chapel dates from 1617.

LOUTH CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE 331

The church is mainly of the fifteenth century, the chancel of the early sixteenth; the tower was built in 1516, and restored in 1845, having been injured by lightning in 1843.

THE GREAT HALL, HAMPTON COURT PALACE 333

Begun by Henry VIII., immediately after Wolsey's death, the previous hall being removed to make way for it; the accounts of the works, in four folio volumes, are preserved at the Record Office. It was finished by 1536, and is 106 ft. long, 40 ft. wide and 60 ft. high. Catherine Parr was proclaimed queen here in 1543. Under the succeeding sovereigns it was much used for masques and theatricals. Law, *Guide to Hampton Court*, p. 145.

FLEMISH WINDOWS, LADY CHAPEL, LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL . . 335

Of the windows in the Lady Chapel, seven were made for the Cistercian convent of Herckenrode, near Liège, between 1530 and 1540, and obtained in 1802, after its dissolution, by Sir Brooke Boothby, Bart., for £100. They had been hidden to escape capture by the French. Their estimated value then was £10,000. They consist of 340 pieces, each about 22 in. square. Five represent Biblical subjects, two contain portraits of benefactors of the convent. The large window shown represents Pilate delivering Christ to be crucified; Christ bearing the cross; the descent from the cross; the resurrection. The small window on the right is Flemish glass of somewhat later date, one of two put in recently. These were brought to England about the middle of the nineteenth century, and purchased from the representatives of the Marquis of Ely, having been discovered in a cellar in London, where they had lain forgotten for nearly fifty years. It represents the legendary death of the Virgin Mary, surrounded by the Apostles (except St. Thomas, who was detained at the baptism of a Royal Prince); above, is shown her entrance into glory. Clifton, *Cathedral Church of Lichfield*, 1898. Though thus not actually imported in the sixteenth century, the glass is a fair example of English aspirations at that period.

HENRY VIII., FROM THE PORTRAIT AT WARWICK CASTLE . . . 337

See text; and on the ascription of the portrait to Holbein, *cf* Woltmann, *Holbein*, Bunnett's trans., p. 396, and Nichols in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIX.

TERRACOTTA TOMB OF DR. YOUNG, ROLLS CHAPEL (*see* text) . . 339

RESKEMEER, BY HOLBEIN (*see* text) 340

HOLBEIN, BY HIMSELF 341

The title has been doubly questioned; but Waagen accepted it, and found a likeness to the unquestioned sketch of the artist by himself at an earlier age, which is at Basle.

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ANNE OF CLEVES, BY HOLBEIN 342

The story that Holbein's picture was so flattering that the reality disappointed the king is discredited by Woltmann, *Holbein*, p. 434 (Bunnett's trans.): "Holbein could not have done this if he wished; the prime characteristic of his portraits is their complete truth, and Anne's picture, which is nowise charming, affords one of the most distinct testimonies to this effect." Moreover, "Henry himself lays the fault of his disappointment on words alone."

HOLBEIN'S DESIGN FOR A CUP FOR JANE SEYMOUR 343

From an etching now transferred from the Bodleian to the University Galleries at Oxford. The initials H and J, intertwined in a love-knot, frequently appear in it, and also Jane Seymour's motto, "Bound to obey and to serve." For a detailed account of the design, *see* Woltmann, *op. cit.*, p. 417 *seq.*

COINS OF THE FIRST THREE TUDOR SOVEREIGNS 344, 345

The George noble bears a motto from a hymn by Prudentius (4th cent.) meaning "Consecrated by such a sign the mind cannot waver." The gold half-crown of Henry VIII. has the initials of Henry and Katharine of Aragon, and a motto signifying "A dazzling rose without a thorn." The half-sovereign of Henry VIII. bears a motto (from Luke iv. 30) used as early as Edward III. On the Philip and Mary shilling (*see* text) the Neapolitan and Spanish titles of the royal pair are noteworthy; the motto ("We have made God our helper") occurs frequently on earlier English coins.

KETT'S OAK OF REFORMATION, WYMONDHAM, NORFOLK . . . 347

GROAT OF 1545 AND SHILLING OF 1549, STRUCK AT BRISTOL . . 350

Both these coins are debased, and the shillings of 1551 were countermarked with a portcullis or a greyhound (both Tudor badges) early in the reign of Elizabeth, and ordered to be current for 4½d. and 2¼d. respectively.

LAZAR HOUSE OF ST. PETRONILLA, BURY 353

From a collection of maps, plans, and drawings illustrating the topographical history of the county of Suffolk, made by a Mr. Craven Ord.

SEALS USED FOR LABOURERS' PASSES 355

The statute 12 Rich. II., passed at Cambridge in 1388, is the first enactment in which the impotent poor are distinctly named as a separate class. It fixed wages, and required all persons who had quitted their service to show a pass, sealed with the king's seal, bearing the name of the county and hundred. Any servant found without a pass might be put in the stocks and required to give bail for his return to service. No person might harbour a servant unprovided with such a pass. *Archæological Journal*, XI., 379.

VAGABONDS (from Barclay, *Ship of Fools*) 357

Prefixed to a poem "of foolish beggars and of their vanities." *See* note on illustration, p. 134.

WHIPPING-POST (TWYFORD, NORFOLK) 359

STOCKS (HAVERINGLAND, NORFOLK) 361

The type of these probably dates back to the period of the text, or earlier, though the wood of both is naturally a good deal later. The ironwork of the whipping-post, however, appears to be ancient.

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CONFRATER'S HOUSE, WYGGESTON'S HOSPITAL, LEICESTER 363

This hospital was founded in the latter part of the fifteenth century for a master, confrater, twelve aged men, and twelve aged women (all unmarried), by William Wyggeston, mayor of Leicester, and others.

MISER AND PRODIGAL (from Barclay, *Ship of Fools*) 364

Prefixed to a poem on "Avarice or Covetise and Prodigality." *See* note on illustration, p. 134.

PHYSICIAN IN GOWN 369

ST. FILLAN'S CROZIER AND ITS CASE 371

The crozier head is of copper, ornamented with bands of niello; the casing is silver-gilt ornamented with filigree work. The relic was in the possession of the Dewar family, its hereditary keepers (who were bound to use it, on demand, in detecting stolen goods) from the time of Robert Bruce till 1877, when it was acquired from their representatives (who had sunk and again risen in the social scale, and were then settled in Canada) for the Scottish National Antiquarian Museum. St. Fillan was an Irish missionary in Scotland, who died about 777. A full account of the relic will be found in the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XII. (1878).

SUENO'S STONE, NEAR FORRES* 372

An elaborately carved pillar of hard, reddish-grey sandstone, 23 ft. high, 4 ft. wide at the base, and 14 in. thick. On the face shown, which looks southward, the history of a battle is carved, in five divisions: the lowest contains groups of persons, with a building behind them; the next, horsemen advancing, infantry following with spears and shields; the next is the actual fight—warriors attacking a gateway, while in a corner are several headless bodies; the fourth shows the captives (some being women) and their captors; the topmost division seems to have contained a number of figures on horseback (the victors going home?). The story has been supposed to commemorate the victory won by Sueno, son of Harold, King of Denmark, in 1008 over Malcolm II.; but Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, I., 337) refers it to a fight between Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, and a Scottish Earl, Melbrigda, in 900, in which all the Scots were killed, and the horsemen went home with their foes' heads tied to their stirrups; one of Earl Melbrigda's teeth struck the leg of Earl Sigurd, who died of the wound, presumably from blood poisoning. The north side of the stone is also elaborately carved with figures and "Runic knots." (Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, s. v.).

ROUND TOWER, ABERNETHY, PERTHSHIRE* 373

Seventy-four ft. high, with walls 2½ ft. thick below and 2 ft. above; the diameter inside is 8 ft. 3 in. at the base and 5 ft. 6 in. at top. The door was originally well above the ground, but soil has accumulated round the base. The tower is similar to the Irish round towers, which were probably church towers, but built to serve as refuges in case of a raid by Norse pirates or other enemies. This building probably served the same purpose. Various dates for it have been suggested between about 712 and 1000 A.D.

RUINS OF KELSO ABBEY 374

Originally founded at Selkirk, the monastic community was

* See additional notes on p. xxxvi.

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removed to Kelso in 1128 by David I. The building was much damaged by invading armies from England in 1523, 1542, and finally in 1545 under the Earl of Hereford, when it was battered by cannon, and ultimately carried by assault. In 1560 the Reformers wrecked the remains and expelled the few monks still there. The ruins were repaired in 1866.

NEIDPATH CASTLE, TWEEDDALE 375

Originally a stronghold of the Fraser family, the castle passed to the Hays of Yester, the ancestors of the Earls of Tweeddale, the second of whom held it for Charles II., but it was taken after the tower, its original nucleus, had been battered down by Cromwell's cannon. It was afterwards sold to one of that branch of the Douglases whose head was the Duke of Queensberry, and subsequently passed to the Earls of Wemyss. It was of very high strategic importance.

SEAL OF WILLIAM THE LION (1165–1214) 376

On the obverse, the king on the throne, a sword and an orb, with cross; on the reverse, he is seen on horseback, with flag attached to a lance, and a shield with a central spike. The details of the costume and horse-trappings will repay study.

ABBEY GATEWAY, SCONE 377

On the mote-hill, to the west of the abbey, folkmoots were held as early as the eighth century. The Scottish kings were crowned here (for the Coronation Stone, *see* Vol. II., p. 239, note on the illustration), and the abbey, founded in 1114, was sacked and destroyed by a mob of Reformers from Perth in 1559. The abbot's house had been used as a Royal Palace.

STIRLING CASTLE 379

The rock is 340 feet above the plain below. The castle has been considerably modernised, being one of the four Scottish fortresses required to be kept up by the Act of Union: it is still an important military centre. Only a small part of the buildings dates back to the fifteenth century, but the castle, as commanding the main passage between the Northern and Southern Scotland, has been of the utmost importance in Scottish history. It was besieged by Edward I., and surrendered after Bannockburn; it was the birthplace of several Scottish kings; it was the chief Royalist stronghold in the Civil Wars, and was unsuccessfully besieged by the Young Pretender in 1745. The Palace (erected by James V. and Mary of Guise) and the Parliament Hall, erected by James III., are inside the castle.

CHAPEL OF ST. LEONARD'S COLLEGE, ST. ANDREWS 381

The college was founded in 1512, out of the revenues of a suppressed hospital for pilgrims to the shrine of St. Andrew, and was united with the College of St. Leonard in 1747, their revenues having greatly decreased, to form the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Medicine of St. Andrews University. Its buildings were then sold, and the chapel alone remains.

PORTRAITS OF JAMES III. AND JAMES IV., HOLYROOD 382

This picture is of the school of Van Eyck, and has been attributed to Van der Goes; it is said to have been painted as an altarpiece for Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, founded by Mary of Gueldres, mother of James III.

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EXPERIENCE AND THE COURTIER 383

MARGARET TUDOR 384

By Mabuse : on panel, 28½ in. by 21½ in. It was for many years at Lee Priory, Kent.

MARY OF GUISE (HAMPTON COURT) 385

On wood, 3 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. ; but a piece has been added to the original. The painting, probably executed about 1543–44, and mentioned in the catalogue of the Hampton Court pictures under Charles I., was sold under the Commonwealth and only rediscovered in 1852. Law, *Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court*, p. 209.

SWORD OF JAMES V. (ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM) 386

JAMES V. 387

Artist unknown : on an oak panel, in three pieces, 36 in. by 24 in.

DUNFERMLINE PALACE 391

Probably built early in the fourteenth century ; enlarged and restored under James IV. and V. ; allowed to fall into ruin after Charles II.'s time, and repaired in 1812. It was frequently a Royal residence, and was the birthplace of Charles I. Here also James I. of England signed the Solemn League and Covenant, and Charles II. the "Dunfermline Declaration."

NECK CHAINS 394

The outer one, with oval links, was found in Holyrood Park.

SCOTTISH SHOES OF PRIMITIVE TYPE 395

"Rivlins" from Shetland, which, as is noted in the text, the shoes of this period exactly resembled.

STAIGUE FORT, KERRY 399

About twelve miles from Waterville, in a hilly district ; an enclosure 114 feet in diameter over all ; the inside diameters are 87 ft. from N. to S. and 88 ft. from E. to W. The wall is 13 ft. thick at bottom, tapering to 5 ft. 2 in. at the top. In the S.S.W. side is a square doorway 5 ft. wide below and 4 ft. 2 in. above. In the wall, opening inwards, are two small chambers, one 12 ft. deep, 4 ft. 7 in. wide, and 6 ft. 6 in. high, the other 7 ft. 4 in. deep, 4 ft. 9 in. wide and 7 ft. high. Round the inside of the wall are ten sets of stairs, the highest reaching nearly to the top, the secondary about half way, leading to narrow platforms on which the defenders stood. The fort may be two thousand years old, and was the stronghold of a Neolithic people. It is the best preserved example in Ireland, though not the largest. Its name is, of course, modern. (Wilde, *Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.*) A model exists in the museum.

PASSAGE FROM THE "LIBER HYMNORUM" 400

Trinity College, Dublin ; MS. No. 1,441, of the eleventh century, containing hymns in Irish and in Latin. The page is 10½ in. by 7½ in. The contents have been published in 6 vols., including translation and glossary.

PASSAGE FROM A BREHON LAW TRACT 401

A number of these tracts, of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with text and glosses, are preserved in the Library of

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Trinity College, Dublin. On the Brehon law, *see* Maine, *Early History of Institutions.*

SHRINE OF ST. PATRICK'S BELL . . . . . *to face* 402

The bell is believed to have belonged to St. Patrick; it was preserved for centuries at Armagh, and is the oldest relic of Christian metal-work in Ireland. Its shrine was made between 1091 and 1105, as is proved by an inscription on it recording the names of its makers.

CROSS AND ROUND TOWER, MONASTERBOICE, LOUTH 402

The tower, probably of the ninth century, is 51 ft. in circumference at the base and 90 ft. high. It had five floors. The largest cross (there are three) is 27 ft. high, the second 15 feet. Both are covered with elaborate carving, partly scriptural, partly seeming to refer to some episode of the Danish invasion. They are referred to the ninth or tenth century.

SCENES FROM IRISH LIFE, AS DESCRIBED BY GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS . 403

These are nearly contemporary attempts at faithful illustration of Giraldus's *Topographia Hiberniae*, Dist. III. (1187). The native Irish. he says, always carry axes [instead of sticks like other people] "that they may be ready promptly to execute whatever [villainy] their minds suggest" (c. 20). They are industrious only in playing the tabor and harp, their sole musical instruments (c. 11). The coracle shown was encountered by a ship driven by a tempest within sight of the northern coast of Ireland, some of whose crew described it to Giraldus (c. 26). It was of wattled boughs, covered with hide; its two occupants were naked, save for a broad belt of skins, and wore long, yellow hair. They proved to be heathens and uncivilised, and expressed astonishment at the sight of bread and cheese, of which they were allowed to take home specimens. "The women as well as the men ride astride with their legs stuck out on each side of the horse" (c. 26; there is no other evidence of the practice, and Giraldus may be generalising from a single exception). St. Kevin is here (as always) represented with a blackbird; because once, when he retired, as was his wont during Lent, to a small cabin in the wilderness, and lifted up his hand [in prayer] a hen blackbird laid her eggs in it; wherefore the saint, taking pity on her, held his hand in the same position till she had reared her brood (c. 28). The last illustration is invested with a special interest by modern anthropology. Giraldus tells (c. 25) of a people of Tyrconnel, in Donegal, who practise a loathsome rite in the inauguration of their kings. A white mare is brought into the midst of the assembled multitude and the king-elect crawls towards it, "shamelessly confessing himself a beast." The mare is then killed and cut up, and the king must bathe in the broth, lapping it up, and eat of the flesh, which is also served out to the people. Giraldus's editors (*e.g.* Dimock in the Rolls Series) have rejected the story *in toto* as a hoax; but it is impossible not to suspect a survival of totemism. The white mare is the patron, perhaps the reputed ancestor of the tribe, who solemnly recognise their descent by participating in the flesh of the parent. *Cf.* A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 107. We need not suppose, however, that the story was true of the people of Tyrconnel (who are known to have had another method of inauguration in Christian times) or of Giraldus's own age. It may have been a tradition, possibly from pre-Celtic times, though it can hardly have been pure invention. In any case, Giraldus's zeal to repeat it shows his animus against the Irish.

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THE CROSS OF CONG 405

Made at Roscommon by native Irish workmen about 1123, as a receptacle for a fragment of the True Cross, and brought to Cong Abbey by Roderic O'Conor, the last native king of Ireland, who found a refuge there, and died in 1198. It was found in a chest in the village early in the nineteenth century. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, 1 ft. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. across the arms, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick. It is of oak plated with copper, covered with gold tracery, was set with jewels, and has a large crystal in the centre.

THE ROCK OF CASHEL 406

The rock is about 300 ft. high. A church was founded here by St. Declan in the sixth century, and the place was the capital of the kings of Munster. Henry II. was acknowledged as sovereign of Ireland by the Irish clergy here in 1172. The rock was stormed by Lord Inchiquin for the Parliament in 1647.

WEAPONS AND ACCOUTREMENTS 407

Above, a bronze celt or "palstave," which would be mounted on a wooden handle and made fast with a strip of hide. The swords are bronze, iron swords in Ireland being late and rare. The double mouthpiece of the bit is curious. (Described in Wilde, *Catalogue of Royal Irish Academy Museum.*)

SUBJECTS FROM THE BOOK OF KELLS 408. 409

These figures, introduced as decorations into a "thoroughly Irish" MS. of the Gospels, in Latin, possibly of the sixth century, are regarded as faithful representations of Irish costume of that period. One (p. 409) represents a soldier armed with a round target and spear of similar make to extant examples; his cap is yellow, his coat green, his breeches light blue. The seated figure (p. 409) drinking wears a turban, partly yellow, with a flesh-coloured border; a dark red cloak with yellow border; a blue tunic with yellow border and green sleeves; and is barefooted. One of the equestrian figures (also with yellow caps and green cloaks) shows the short tunic well. (Wilde, *Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy Museum*, Class IV., Part II., pp. 299, 300.)

FIGURES FROM THE CASKET CALLED BREAC MOEDHOG 411

This is the "speckled shrine" of St. Moedhog of Ferns, of about the eleventh century, and exhibits important details of costume in the embossed bronze figures attached to it.

IRISH MEDIEVAL COSTUME 413

The twilled woven cloak exactly resembles that in Speed's picture of the "wild Irishman" in his Atlas of 1610. The costumes were found on human bodies disinterred in 1824 and 1843, and are described by Wilde, *Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, II., p. 325 *seq.* The skirt of the female dress resembles the Greek fustanella. The shepherd's plaid of the trews is noteworthy, as also the cut leather ornamentation of the shoes.

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BALLYMOON CASTLE, CARLOW 414

"The walls of the bawn [enclosure] are hollowed into a kind of gallery, lighted by loopholes from without and by large windows, now ruined, from within." A further description will be found in Grose, *Antiquities of Ireland* (1792), II., p. 8.

THE TARA TORQUE 416

Found near Drogheda; copied by modern jewellers as the "Tara Brooch."

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The present volume contains one important addition to the text: the section on social life and manners in the two first Tudor reigns, which has been written by Miss Bateson expressly for the illustrated edition. Those portions of the first chapter in the volume which deal with political and religious history have undergone some re-arrangement, and in the subsequent chapters a few passages have been excised, to avoid unnecessary repetition, and a few notes added. The lists of authorities have been carefully revised, and brought up to date. The illustrations, as in the preceding volumes, have been selected with the primary aim of elucidating the accompanying text.

The widening of the stream of English history in the sixteenth century involves some loss in the material available for illustrations, as well as some gain. If the invention of printing and the coming of the Reformation together deprive us of the magnificent illuminations which so copiously illustrate most forms of medieval life and some of medieval thought from the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century, yet we gain a good deal in other ways. We have life-like portraits of the great figures of the Tudor period; we have their autographs; the beginnings of political caricature in the last half of the century give us vivid indications of popular feeling; military subjects, though less abundant than in the preceding century, are fully adequate for our purpose; shipping becomes directly intelligible from the drawings of the period, without that necessity for the aid of the reconstructive imagination which is felt in dealing with the fleets of the Middle Ages; contemporary views of towns and landscapes are trustworthy representations of specific places instead of giving us merely the generic features which we can trace in

some of the illuminations of the later MSS.[1]; personal relics, examples of furniture, of costume, of silver plate and table glass, of musical instruments, become adequate in numbers, though not exactly plentiful; most of all, the great outburst of maritime adventure and geographical exploration—facilitated, to an extent we are apt to forget, by the social disorder at home—provides us not only with valuable examples of the increase of geographical knowledge, but with representations of figures and scenes absolutely new to European observers, and contributing in no small measure to the making of Elizabethan literature. Cabot's map of America, Thorne's map of the way to the East Indies, the successive maps in the editions of Hakluyt, which gradually drop the legendary islands from the Atlantic Ocean, the map of the Arctic regions by Michael Lok, the drawings of Esquimaux and of "Herowan" Indians by John White—these together illustrate one of the most potent of the intellectual influences which transformed English life in the Elizabethan age, and which no history of the development of English society in that period could venture to leave out. Medieval architecture is replaced by the more sober and less picturesque types of the Renaissance; ecclesiastical building has become superabundant, and ceases, while secular building takes its place; the scenic glories of medieval Catholicism give place before the invisible entities of a purer and sterner religious creed; but there is this compensation in the plan adopted in this volume, that the affairs of Scotland and Ireland become for the first time part of the regular main stream of English history, and the retrospective treatment of their annals affords abundant examples of the treasures of art and architecture still preserved to them in relatively greater measure, perhaps, than in England.

Our sincere thanks are again due to the owners or guardians of many valuable objects for the permission freely and generously given to use them for the illustration of the work. In all cases acknowledgments are printed under the

[1] *E.g.* the town, seaport, and landscape reproduced at pp. 614, 668, and 747 of Vol. II., and the Flemish scenes of pp. 626, 627 of the same volume. The view of the Tower of London, Vol. II., p. 755, seems unique as a faithful representation of a particular place in a MS.

illustrations. But we must express our obligations in particular to the Chapter of the College of Arms, for permission to photograph subjects from MSS. in their possession, and to the officials for their assistance; to the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Bedford, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, Earl Brownlow, Earl Spencer, Viscount Middleton, Lord Arundell of Wardour, and Lord de l'Isle and Dudley, for the access given us to family portraits or relics in their possession; to the Archbishop of Canterbury; to the Master of the Rolls; to the Elder Brethren of Trinity House, and to Mr. H. S. Liesching, who have enabled us to obtain many illustrations of the history of the English navy and merchant shipping for this and subsequent volumes; to Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, librarian of the Bodleian; to the governing bodies of Trinity College, Cambridge, of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, of Christ Church, Oxford, of Trinity College, Oxford (for leave to photograph the chalice of St. Albans Abbey, saved by their founder at the Dissolution), of Trinity College, Dublin (for leave to reproduce specimens of Irish MSS.), of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (for leave to photograph the plate left by Bishop Fox); to the Worshipful Companies of Armourers, Barber-Surgeons, and Ironmongers; to the Provost of Eton (for permission to reproduce a specimen page from the unique copy of Udall's famous drama, preserved in the College library); to the keeper of the Hope Collection of Engraved Portraits at Oxford; to the authorities of Stonyhurst College (for photographs of the relics of Sir Thomas More); to Sir R. Colt Hoare, Bart.; to E. Delmar Morgan, Esq.; to T. Colyer-Ferguson, Esq., of Ightham Mote; to the Rev. F. W. Galpin (for leave to photograph selected specimens from his very remarkable collection of representative musical instruments of the sixteenth and succeeding centuries, with information regarding them); to the Rev. S. Baring Gould (for leave to reproduce his portrait of Edmund Spenser, by Allori); to the Warden of Whitgift's Hospital, Croydon; to the Governing Body and Headmaster of Dulwich College; to the Kent Archæological Society; to the Curators and Governing Bodies of the Ashmolean Museum and University Galleries at Oxford, the Archæological Museum at Cambridge, the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, the

Wallace Collection, the Guildhall Museum, the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, the Royal Irish Academy, the Mayer Museum, Liverpool, and the Museums of Ipswich, Lewes, Truro, and York. Finally, we must express our sincere thanks to the staff of the British Museum, especially in the Library and the Departments of Prints and Drawings and of Coins and Medals, for their unfailing courtesy and readiness to assist.

In selecting the illustrations, very valuable aid has been rendered to the editor, as in the preceding volume, by Mr. T. D. Atkinson, Mr. T. A. Archer, of the University of Oxford, and Miss E. M. Leonard, of Girton College, Cambridge. Mr. Archer has also kindly assisted to revise the lists of authorities appended to each chapter.

J. S. Mann.

August, 1902.

*** Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, has kindly favoured the Editor with the following notes on "Sueno's Stone" and the Round Tower at Abernethy, illustrations of which will be found on pp. 372, 373:—

"'Sueno's Stone' has at top the well-known 'elephant symbol' (really a whale or dolphin or other marine mammal), so common on the Pictish stones. This proves that it celebrates not a Norse but a Pictish victory. There were apparently two battles, each followed by a formal interment. The equipment of the horsemen is indistinguishable. That of the footmen, whether living or dead, is almost identical, and shows no Norse features whatever. They all have belted tunics and caps, with apparently a tag hanging down behind. A few have lances or bows, but most have swords and small round shields. Three, blowing horns, have no visible weapons. They are quite clearly natives, not foreign invaders. The battles may have been in a civil war, or may have been fought against Norsemen; but as most of the corpses have their heads cut off, but are all dressed like the others, the former seems more likely." Mr. Nicholson's description is based on a print of the stone published by J. Grant in 1826, when it was less worn than at present.

Page 373. The Abernethy and the Brechin towers are the only "round towers" in Scotland. They were certainly built by Irish monks. That there was a settlement of these at Abernethy is clear from a blundering forgery inserted, apparently before 918, in the Pictish Chronicle about the dedication of Abernethy to St. Brigid, and the same chronicle contains a statement of the dedication of Brechin "to the Lord" between 977 and 995. Such towers were erected against the Norsemen, whose invasions of Scotland did not begin till that century, which is the earliest possible date for the erection of these two.

PORTRAIT OF HENRY VIII.

(Hampton Court Palace.)

Social England.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGED. 1509–1547.

"If a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him." A. L. SMITH. The Reign of Henry VIII.

In these quaint and characteristic words More summed up his own experience of Henry VIII. as a master, and his advice to Thomas Cromwell. The words are a summary of the whole reign. Year by year the royal power grew stronger, and revealed itself in more startling forms. Before his death this king without an army, without an independent revenue, with no open breach in constitutional forms, was exercising, over a nation still proud of its instincts of freedom and jealous of political innovation, a self-willed authority that amounted to a real despotism. Every fresh publication of the State Papers dealing with the time brings out in a clearer light the great abilities and the deeply marked personal character of the king, the importance of his initiative, his extraordinary power of carrying the nation with him, and the magnitude of the results which he achieved. At his accession there was more than conventional rejoicing. Foreigners saw in it the promise of a golden age for his dominions. England turned gladly from the dynastic troubles and the repressive administration of Henry VII., from a reign of suspicion, extortion, and ignominious reaction, to the young prince, who embodied so brilliantly the learning and culture of his time, its tastes and ambitions, even its ideal of manly vigour and beauty. He was the first king for a hundred and ten years who had a title beyond cavil; he had inherited a treasure which the

Venetian Giustiniani puts at 10,000,000 ducats; by marrying his brother's widow, Katharine of Aragon, he had secured the alliance with Spain; and the arrest and execution of his father's hated ministers, Empson and Dudley, raised the new ruler's popularity to its climax.

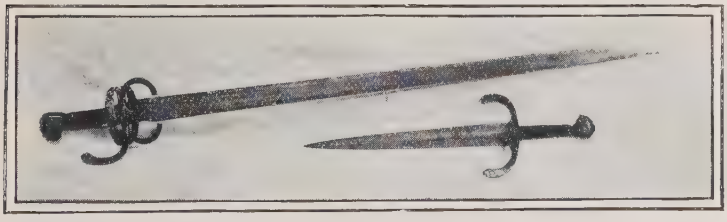
It was an age of great European wars. In these wars France, full of a restless military class, conscious of her new centralisation and unity, was the moving spirit. There was much talk of Charlemagne and the Holy Sepulchre; and more business-like schemes to recover Naples or to rob Venice. But in England, the sullen traditions of Crécy and Agincourt, the ancestral and inveterate hostility to "our adversary of France," had been quickened to fresh life by French ambition, and were ready at a moment to leap into flame. Henry seized the opportunity in 1511 to join the "Holy League" to protect the Papal territories from French aggressions in Italy. The expedition concerted with Ferdinand to attack the French from the Spanish side was a disastrous failure. Ferdinand, overreaching himself as ever in his own cunning, infuriated his son-in-law by treating him as a catspaw; the troops, drinking Spanish wine as if it were beer, fell ill, mutinied, and insisted on a return home (p. 92). The failure made Henry determine that the campaign of 1513 should be on the Flemish side of France, to get Maximilian's co-operation. It also brought Wolsey to the front, the one man whose organising capacity and omnipresent energy were to give a distinctive impress to the first twenty years of the reign. The autumn of 1513 witnessed the French panic and defeat at the Battle of the Spurs, the capture by Henry in person of Tournay and Terouenne, and the overwhelming ruin of the invading Scotch host at Flodden Field. James IV. had fallen on the field; his successor was an infant, his widow was Margaret Tudor.

GROAT OF HENRY VIII. STRUCK AT TOURNAY.

England and the Continent.

Scotland was forced to submit to a peace, and for many years to come Wolsey's skilful management of the Scots' intestine feuds —his "fiddling," as Dacre called it—availed to put an end to all danger in that quarter. It was considered also a master-stroke of policy when, after the most secret negotiations, peace was made with France in 1514, and not only peace but an honourable alliance by the marriage between Louis XII. and Henry's sister Mary. It is true she was seventeen and he about sixty; but in three months his death set her free again. With Francis I. on the French throne, and Charles now ruling Spain as well as the Netherlands, the drama somewhat shifts its actors; and these three remarkable contemporaries enter upon their historic rivalry. Between Francis and Charles the duel was inevitable and, so to speak, justifiable. But Henry's intervention is less easy to understand. The leading motive of it has sometimes been sought in a desire to appear as the champion of the Papacy, sometimes in a vigilant calculation of the balance of power. But no one motive suffices to explain it. His normal relation to France varied from jealousy and intrigue to open warfare, while the interests of trade and

RING OF JAMES IV.



SWORD OF JAMES IV. CAPTURED AT FLODDEN.
(*By permission of the Chapter of the Heralds' College.*)

(till 1525 at least) the sense of relationship kept him normally in alliance with Charles. The famous meeting of the French and English kings at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 is thoroughly typical of the time, in its almost brutal magnificence, in its affectation of an effete chivalry, above all in its barefaced diplomatic futility. Immediately before he met his

The Field of the Cloth of Gold.

"dear brother of France," Henry had pledged himself in a personal interview to the Emperor; and immediately after the meeting he hurried back to another such interview at Gravelines. Francis knew well that he was being shamelessly tricked; and Henry knew that he knew it. Yet the portentous

THE ANGLO-FRENCH *ENTENTE* OF 1514 (MS. Vesp. B. ii.).
(*A Greeting to Mary Tudor.*)

farce which ruined many nobles of both countries was played out with decorous hypocrisy to the end. In 1523 France, weakened in Italy and threatened by the Emperor and the Swiss on three sides, seemed to offer a favourable moment for attack. The chief French noble, the Constable Bourbon, had

HENRY VIII. ON HIS WAY TO THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.
(*From the contemporary painting at Hampton Court.*)

Photo: W. M. Spooner & Co., Strand, W.C.

put his sword at the service of the invaders. But, as the penetrating genius of Macchiavelli had pointed out, France is a country as hard to hold as it is easy to invade. With one burst of her ancient spirit she shook off all her foes; and when the rout of her great army and the capture of her king at Pavia in 1525 seemed to lay her again at the mercy of her old foes, Henry thought better of his first vengeful impulse and made a treaty with Louise of Savoy, the Regent. The treaty was renewed in 1527, and was to be cemented by a French marriage for the Princess Mary. No doubt Henry was reluctant to push Charles's aggrandisement any further. But he was also beginning to feel his way to that rearrangement of his foreign position which the divorce from Katharine seemed likely to entail. This divorce question and the consequent estrangement from Charles explain the fact that there was from this time no war with France till near the close of the reign. In 1538 James V. of Scotland, by his marriage, introduced the Guise influence into his country; and in 1542, by this influence and the encouragement of the Pope, James was led to a rash invasion of England. It resulted in the English victory of Solway Moss and the death of the Scots king. A Scotch invasion was always the accompaniment of a rupture with France, and in 1544 Henry invaded France and captured Boulogne, which was held till 1550.

The Divorce Question.

Wolsey's Foreign Policy.

Dr. Brewer has maintained that all this aggressive foreign policy was needed to rouse England from its insular isolation, and that its effect was to raise the country from the position of a third-rate Power to that of one of the first rank, making it the arbiter of Christendom. In a witty French masque, performed in Wolsey's presence, the truth was better expressed by representing the function of England as that of "paying the piper." It would be more just to call England the make-weight than the arbiter. Neither its interests nor its resources entitled it to such an offensive interposition in the strife of two Powers, each vastly its superior in population and revenue, and still more in organisation and military efficiency. Such a policy diverted it from its real work, which was to remain, for fifty years to come, the neutralisation of Scotland, the pacification of Ireland, the assimilation of Wales. At best the more urgent need for the England of the Tudors was the creation

of an efficient fleet, towards which not much was done by the king's occasional interest in his dockyards, or the building of a *Great Harry* (p. 103). The net result of such a policy was the addition of a huge item in the financial wastefulness of the most wasteful reign in English history. It can hardly be denied that Wolsey's administration was, in regard to

Photo: Walker & Cockerell, Clifford's Inn, E.C.
CARDINAL WOLSEY.
(*National Portrait Gallery, from drawing at Arras.*)

his foreign schemes, costly, dangerous, and futile, however stimulating it may have been indirectly.

Wolsey and his Aims.

Yet Wolsey was beyond all doubt a great man. His commanding abilities deserved the ascendancy which they won him, not only in the popular imagination, but also in the councils of Europe. But, great as he was even then recognised to be, full justice was not done to him, nor could be done, till modern times. Only with the recent opening of our own and foreign archives has there been disclosed to us the boldness and magnitude of his aims, the comprehensiveness and practical sagacity of his highest conceptions, his almost

incredible industry, and his thorough grasp of details. "Feared by all, loved by few or by none at all." This is the description by a famous contemporary. But a scholar, and a needy one, had a twofold grudge against this cardinal whose interests were practical and whose wealth was already pledged to a great practical scheme. Wolsey was indeed "lofty and sour to them that loved him not." But through all the invectives of his enemies, even through the biting doggerel verse of Skelton, there pierces a reluctant note of admiration. Wolsey was not free from some of the faults of his age—its rather vulgar ostentation, its arrogance and impatience, its unscrupulousness as to means, its low standard of private morals. That he had a household of eight hundred and a retinue bearing silver pillars and poleaxes, that he held at once three bishoprics and one of the richest abbeys, that he humbled the great nobles and bullied ambassadors, that he had, and openly promoted, at least one illegitimate child—these were not traits without precedent in the lives of churchmen, however highly placed. The defects which in a fair historical judgment must weigh more heavily against him are his misapprehension of the conditions before him and of his royal master. He was clear sighted rather than far-sighted. He saw the need of Church reform; he did not see the speedy and inevitable advent of the Reformation. He saw that the land required a stern enforcement of order, that the lingering feudal spirit must be cowed, that the equity jurisdiction in Chancery needed acceleration and extension, that Parliament was not yet fit to be the direct instrument of government; but what he failed to see was that there was a spirit in the people which would resent even benefits if conferred without their co-operation, and which would endure a despotic sovereign, but not a despotic minister. In the same way he saw that the royal power expressed and embodied the whole nation, that the king's glory and the king's will meant at bottom the national glory and the national will; but he failed to foresee how easily and with what callous remorselessness the king could strike down in a moment the servant who had so much as crossed him or had merely ceased to be useful. He was the last medieval minister—the last of a line which goes back to Dunstan, and includes Lanfranc and Roger of Salisbury,

Becket and Langton, Arundel and Beaufort, as well as Fox and Warham; men who typified the medieval idea of the Church-State. With him fell the English Church of the Middle Ages, which had for two and a half centuries past been too wealthy and privileged not to challenge constant attacks, but too strong to yield to them, and perhaps too corrupt and too ultramontane to be reformed by any but the most drastic measures.

A. HASSALL.

REMAINS OF WOLSEY'S PALACE, ESHER.

From 1485 to 1529, the date of the Reformation Parliament, the country was governed to a great extent without Parliaments. It is true that as long as Archbishop Morton was Henry VII.'s chief minister the Lancastrian tradition was carried on, and six Parliaments met in the first twelve years of the reign. But by Morton's successors a thoroughly Yorkist policy was adopted which continued till 1529, and of this policy Wolsey is the chief exponent. He cannot be called a constitutional minister. Both Henry VII. and Henry VIII., while observing the forms of the constitution, managed to manipulate them to their own ends. Wolsey, on the other hand, paid little attention to constitutional

The Constitution under Henry VIII.

forms. As long as he was in office only one Parliament was summoned, and with that he quarrelled.

Wolsey and Parliament.

It was not till 1523, after an interval of eight years, that the necessities of the war with France forced Henry to summon a Parliament. Various circumstances had enabled Wolsey to carry on the government without having recourse to a parliamentary assembly. Henry VII.'s peaceful foreign policy, combined with his habitual parsimony, had smoothed the way for his son. Then the enormous increase of the king's estates, patronage, and ordinary revenues, rendered Henry VIII. for many years absolutely independent of Parliament. There is little doubt that, had Henry been satisfied with his life revenue and his unchecked power of exacting money from the rich, he might have continued to rule for most of his reign without having recourse to Parliament, and would have become substantially an absolute sovereign. To appreciate the real meaning of Wolsey's attitude to Parliaments and the danger arising from his unconstitutional views, the distinction between the regular and constitutional sources of income and those royal resources which were unconstitutional must be clearly realised. Henry's regular and constitutional sources of income were indeed considerable. Of the Parliamentary grants, tonnage and poundage, and the subsidy on wool, woolfells and leather, were granted to him for life in the first Parliament of the reign. Then he could obtain from Parliament a vote of tenths and fifteenths, and subsidies which resembled a graduated income and property-tax, and which were levied for the expedition for 1512 and 1513, and for the warlike preparations in 1523, 1539, and 1543. In addition, Convocation voted taxes in due proportion to those granted by Parliaments. Besides these constitutional taxes, the king could at times fall back on a benevolence or amicable contribution, such as he attempted to levy in 1525, on heavy loans which were exacted in the years 1522–28, on exactions from the clergy, on sums raised under occasional forfeitures, and, later in his reign, on the plunder of the monasteries. Of these unconstitutional methods of raising money the most important were the loans that were never repaid, and benevolences exacted under the title of free gifts.

The Income of the Crown.

Benevolences.

It was by forced loans and benevolences that the money which was constantly required for the wars was collected. In

employing these methods for raising money, Henry and Wolsey were but following the example of earlier sovereigns. Richard II. had used forced loans and blank charters; and these measures —some of the worst in his reign, resembling, as they did, similar acts on the part of Edward II.—were extremely unpopular. They were not repeated by Richard's immediate successors; and it was not till 1473 that Edward IV. began to collect contributions under the inappropriate name of benevolences; and this course was repeated in 1482 in order to raise money for the Scottish war. This collection of a benevolence was regarded as an innovation, and as a new method of unlawful taxation. But Edward IV. was popular, and showed considerable financial

SEAL OF HENRY VIII.

ability in the way he requested and extorted "free-will offerings" from his subjects. Still he was rich both in respect to Parliamentary grants and also by private enterprise, and had no excuse for the collection of benevolences.

Though Parliament in 1484 declared benevolences illegal, Richard III. would not forego this easy method of getting money. In spite of the fact that benevolences were unconstitutional, Henry VII. continued to collect them, and his son, as has been observed, followed in his father's steps. The importance of benevolences is at once realised when it is remembered that they "were adopted with the view of enabling the sovereign to rule without that reference to Parliamentary supply and audit which had become the safeguard of national liberty." It seemed quite possible that Henry VIII., with an unchecked power of

exacting money from the rich, might have become an absolute sovereign of a Continental type. But benevolences were always unpopular, and their collection required considerable tact. The struggle at Acworth in 1492 was probably caused by the exaction of a benevolence in the previous year. At the same time they were of great value, and the king was not willing to forego them. The Parliament of 1495 passed an Act empowering the Crown to enforce, if necessary by imprisonment, payment by those persons who had promised money in 1491 and had not fulfilled their engagements. Hence it was natural, Henry VIII. being in a stronger position than Henry VII. and far more popular, that Wolsey should have recourse to the system of benevolences; and we do not find that he met with any marked resistance at first. Under the Tudors, benevolences, as long as they fell on the wealthy classes, were, for very obvious reasons, by no means unpopular with the lower orders. If Henry VIII. and Wolsey had abstained from wars and foreign expeditions, it is quite possible that the king's unchecked power of exacting money, together with his life revenue, would have rendered him entirely independent of further Parliamentary grants. Forced loans were very similar, but they were loans without interest. Though usury was legalised in 1536 (p. 172), these forced loans were, later in the reign, regarded as a real hardship, because the king was on several occasions released from repayment. Queen Elizabeth was far more honest, and consequently her loans were cheerfully provided. As time went on, Wolsey's difficulties began: the weight of taxation became oppressive, the royal expenditure increased, and the king's ordinary revenue proved quite unequal to the task of giving England a prominent place in European politics. The expenses of the campaign of 1522 against the French were difficult to meet, and it became necessary to summon Parliament. Thus the extravagance of the king, and an ambitious foreign policy, combined with the decline in the value of money owing to the influx of the precious metals from the American colonies of Spain into Europe (p. 166), compelled Wolsey to deviate from the lines of his domestic policy, and to acquiesce in the summoning of Parliament.

He had, on becoming Chancellor in 1515, assumed the entire responsibility for all affairs of state, and had introduced some

order into the finances. He had hoped to dispense with Parliament, but the costliness of the French expeditions and the king's debts were matters with which even Wolsey, single-handed, could not cope. In April, 1523, Parliament was opened. Wolsey's whole attitude to this memorable Parliament proves conclusively that he had no regard for constitutional forms, and little appreciation of the influence of precedent. He thought that the sole function of Parliament, if it was summoned, was to grant money for the king's needs. This was not the view held by the members of the Commons, and the whole proceedings of this Parliament, together with the words used by Wolsey in his speech proroguing the Assembly, testify to the existence of a new spirit which was unknown in the previous reign. The famous anecdote of More's conduct as Speaker may or may not be authentic, but at any rate it is valuable as illustrating the temper of the House of Commons. The cardinal, so it is related, made his appearance in the House, and, after a long oration advocating the necessity of a subsidy, asked the opinions of various members. His questions being received with "a marvellous obstinate silence, he required answer of Master Speaker." Then More, on his knees, "excused the silence of the House as abashed by the sublimity of the cardinal's presence among them, and showed him that it was neither expedient nor agreeable with their ancient privileges to comply with the cardinal's demands." This defence of the privileges of the House was unexpected, and "the cardinal, displeased with Sir Thomas More, that had not in this Parliament in all things satisfied his desire, suddenly arose and departed." The story is very characteristic of Wolsey's conception of the position of Parliament in the Constitution, and of the duty of its members.

The Parliament of 1523.

SEAL OF WOLSEY.

The object of the summoning of Parliament being to obtain supplies, Wolsey had proposed that Parliament should vote a subsidy of £800,000; and when the Commons demurred to this proposal, Wolsey had attempted to browbeat them and to set aside their privileges. He did not understand the temper of the English people; he failed to manage the Parliament and to convert it into a "submissive instrument" of royal despotism. Parliament, indeed, agreed to give the subsidy, but the payments were to be spread over a period of four years. But what was more important, the members showed, by refusing to debate in his presence, that they would not submit to Wolsey's high-handed dictation, and that if they were to be managed, skill—not force—must be employed. Wolsey had, however, been successful in his immediate object. Parliament had granted the subsidy, which, with a loan which had already been arranged before Parliament met, would, it was hoped, prove sufficient for the king's needs. When Parliament was prorogued, Wolsey, as Chancellor, thanked the two Houses in the king's name for their grant: "Whereas for the furniture of the said war, both defensive and offensive, ye have after long pain, study, travel, great charges, and costs, devised, made, and offered an honourable and right large subsidy which ye have now presented in the name and in behalf of all the subjects of this his realm unto his majesty, his Grace doth not only right acceptably and thankfully receive, admit, and take the same, but also therefor giveth unto you his most hearty thanks; assuring the same that his Grace shall in such wise employ the said subsidy and loving contribution as shall be to the defence of his realm and of you his subjects, and the persecution and pressing of his enemy; for the attaining of good peace, recovering of his rights, and redress of such injuries as hath been done to you his loving subjects in time past." In these words the Crown assured Parliament that the money should only be used for constitutional purposes, and recognised the principle that the king was as much a part of the nation as the Lords and Commons, and that the king's cause was the cause of the nation.

The whole affair is a striking example of Wolsey's genius and boldness. A great financial scheme was carried out in the face of strenuous opposition from both clergy and laity alike. The taxation was oppressive and general, but the fact that the

national prosperity was in no way impaired by it justifies the confidence of the minister, and is a conclusive proof of the wealth and elasticity of the nation. The entire responsibility of these measures was borne by Wolsey; Henry VIII. remained in the background, and while Wolsey was wringing supplies from a reluctant Parliament, the king was spending whole days in the chase. Henry VIII. was, undoubtedly, personally popular. Wolsey stood between the king and his subjects; he did all the unpleasant work, and willingly bore the odium incurred by the imposition of taxation, while Henry spent the nation's money at his own pleasure. While Wolsey laboured in all things to exalt the royal power, he incurred on all sides great personal unpopularity. Every harsh measure was attributed to him; every unsuccessful act was visited on his head. He was regarded as the king's chief adviser, and responsible for all the policy of the government. And this, the popular view of Wolsey's position, was undeniably correct. During the cardinal's tenure of office, Henry, though he always made his will felt on critical occasions, was only feeling his way and finding out what he could do. The civil and religious administration was, in reality, concentrated in Wolsey's hands. But though the nation was right in its estimate of the position held by the great minister in the councils of the country, men were unaware that Wolsey was at one with them in desiring peace. It was obvious to him, as it was to them, that a Continental war at that juncture was a mistake—that by it agriculture would be interfered with, trade and industry deranged, commerce disturbed.

As there was no chance of obtaining in future large supplies from Parliament, a lucrative peace was clearly the best policy. Contributions, though readily granted, were not always easily levied. Discontent was rife, a new Parliament was out of the question; an arbitrary loan in the present crisis would have caused a violent outcry. Till peace was actually made Wolsey was bound to raise supplies, for the captivity of Francis in Madrid had raised Henry's hopes of conquests in France. For war or for diplomacy a loan was required, and it seemed very improbable that a loan would be successful. In his extremity Wolsey hit upon an expedient which had long been forgotten. He announced that the king proposed to cross the sea and lead an invasion of France in person. For the king's proper equip-

ment he demanded an amicable loan, and in 1525 commissioners were appointed in every shire to assess property, and to require that "the sixth part of every man's substance should without delay be paid in money or plate, to the king for the furniture of his war."

The Amicable Loan.

This amicable loan raised a storm of opposition; the people cursed the cardinal, and complained that before they had paid the subsidy voted by the Parliament of 1523 they were exposed to a new exaction. The clergy also distinguished themselves by their hostility to the loan. It was argued that coin was scarce in England, that France would be enriched by the money spent there, and that if the king conquered France he would waste his time and his revenues in a foreign kingdom. Most of the counties evinced great unwillingness to contribute, and they were encouraged in their attitude by the dogged opposition of the clergy and religious orders. Many hoped that through the resistance of London and other places they would escape from the necessity of paying; in no case was anything but reluctance shown in considering the king's demand. It became evident that the opposition all over England would become still more fierce if the cardinal's determination to collect the amicable grant was persisted in. The Commission was accordingly withdrawn, and this attempt to raise money on the basis of each man's ratable value was abandoned. When the cardinal announced to the mayor and corporation the abrogation of the Commission, he assured them that the king would take nothing from them except a benevolence or free grant. But this new attempt to obtain money by means of a benevolence met with an equal amount of opposition. The mayor and corporation being assembled a second time showed increased boldness, and one of the citizens declared that by the statute of Richard III. no such benevolence could be legally demanded. Wolsey retorted that Richard was a usurper and murderer: of so evil a man how could his acts be good? "An't please your Grace," was the reply, "although he did evil, yet in his time were many good acts, made not by him only, but by the consent of the body of the whole realm, which is the Parliament." Wolsey was forced to withdraw from his position, leaving each man to "grant privily what he would."

But the feeling in the country was as strong as that shown

in London. There the popular discontent, fired by the example of the clergy and also of London, and intensified by the bad management of the commissioners themselves, became so threatening that it was evident that the money could not be collected without risk of a rebellion of a very serious character. At one time it seemed as if the main features of the peasant insurrection then raging in Germany might be reproduced in the eastern counties of England. Essex showed little disposition to comply with the demands made by the

THE OLD GUILDHALL, LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK.
(*One of the principal centres of resistence to the loans.*)

royal agents, and with Lincolnshire was ready to follow the example of Cambridge, where the town and university had combined to offer resistance to an unjust exaction. In Suffolk the commissioners were threatened with death; in Norfolk the attitude of the people was still more menacing. When the duke appeared to appease a tumult in Norwich, the leader of the Commons, one John Greene, thus addressed him:—

"My lord," he said, "sith you ask who is our captain, forsooth his name is Poverty: for he and his cousin Necessity hath brought us to this doing. For all these persons, and many more which I would were not here, live not of ourselves, but all we live by the substantial occupiers of

this county, and yet they give us so little wages for our workmanship that scarcely we be able to live; and this is penury—we give the time, we, our wives and children. And if they by whom we live be brought in that case that they of their little cannot help us to earn our living, then must we perish and die miserably. I speak this, my lord: the cloth-makers have put all these people, and a far greater number, from work. The husbandmen have put away their servants and given up household; they say the king asketh so much that they be not able to do as they have done before this time, and then of necessity must we die wretchedly."

The period of social change through which England was then passing finds forcible expression in John Greene's words. The growth of corn was less profitable than the growth of wool, the towns were thriving at the expense of the country (pp. 150, 159). The great displacement of labour and the existence of grave discontent were not incompatible with the increase of England's wealth as a nation. The benevolence was distinctly unconstitutional, but the refusal of some and the reluctance of others to advance money towards the king's necessities were due to the temporary exhaustion owing to wars and bad seasons rather than to any desire to oppose a demand because it was unconstitutional.

The policy which had resulted in the proposal for an amicable loan certainly did not originate with Wolsey. The king and his companions advocated war, and encouraged the royal extravagance; Wolsey desired peace and economy. Henry dreamt of the conquest of France; Wolsey saw clearly that war with France was a mistake, that England's true policy was to counteract the emperor's designs, and that her real strength lay in neutrality and alliance with France. But in carrying out this statesmanlike policy Wolsey ran counter to the wishes of the mass of the nation. The preference he showed for a French instead of an Imperial alliance tended to make him more unpopular. Bad harvests aggravated the discontent caused by war with the emperor, which stopped trade and inconvenienced the merchants. It was true that Henry's anxiety for a divorce led him to desire a French alliance, but on Wolsey, always regarded as the author of all the royal acts, fell, as usual, the brunt of hostile criticism.

Wolsey and the King.

The whole history of the amicable loan is important for several reasons. On that, as on previous occasions, Wolsey assumed the responsibility for a policy to which he was in reality

opposed, and screened the king from the popular odium which he himself incurred. His sense of ministerial obligation belonged rather to the nineteenth than to the sixteenth century. Then, again, the occasion was important in that the rebuff administered to the king was the first he had experienced. Henceforward Henry bore a special grudge to the clergy, whose example of independence was as unexpected as it was effective. Henceforward, too, the popular hatred of Wolsey, wrongfully regarded as the real author of the Commission, increases in vehemence and in intensity. It is also interesting to notice that the amicable loan had to be withdrawn mainly on account of the opposition which it met with in Kent. That county had ever taken an independent line. The memory of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade still lingered there, and as soon as the loan was resolved upon, Kent at once menaced the government.

Wolsey's Domestic Policy.

This failure to raise money, however, rendered war impossible and aided Wolsey in carrying out his peace policy. Henry VIII. had just convinced himself that nothing was to be gained from his alliance with Charles V., and henceforth he accepted Wolsey's views of peace with Francis. In 1527 the Treaty of Amiens was signed, and England and France were again allies.

Wolsey could now turn to the many domestic questions which required careful attention. The labouring population was discontented, the merchants were irritated. The sweating sickness had reappeared (p. 366). The popular dislike of the cardinal was deeper than ever. But, undeterred, Wolsey set to work to carry out necessary internal reforms. Since 1515 these reforms had been thrust into the background, and an adventurous foreign policy had been embarked on. For a successful foreign policy a strong government at home was necessary, and Wolsey had succeeded in making the monarchy exceedingly powerful. He had, indeed, no conception of a strong government of a constitutional type. He found England in the midst of a political, social, and intellectual crisis. The nation wished for a vigorous government capable of putting down anarchy. Henry VII. had made the monarchy strong, Wolsey made the basis of monarchical power still stronger. All classes looked to the king, and Wolsey, conscious of the necessity of a constructive policy in domestic affairs, was convinced that the royal power was the only

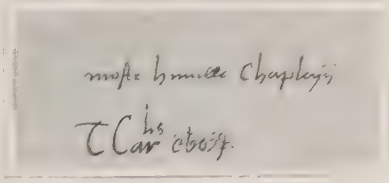
possible instrument capable and vigorous enough to carry out reforms.

To make that instrument as strong and as efficacious as possible was therefore Wolsey's aim from the first. And, in exalting the king's power, Wolsey was acting in agreement with the general feeling of Englishmen. "For good or evil, England was identified with her king, and it was long before it could be otherwise." Though Wolsey was a far greater man than his successors, he was inferior to both Henry and Cromwell in his grasp of the true position of the English monarchy. But his mistakes or shortcomings only bring out the more clearly the real temper of the English people and the problems of the time. In 1528 Wolsey began what might have proved the inauguration of a successful internal policy by suppressing a certain number of the smaller religious foundations; but in 1529 he fell, before he had had time to carry through any great religious revolution. The history of his ministerial career is most instructive, and constitutionally of distinct importance. We can, as we study it, grasp the salient characteristics of the Tudor monarchy, and discover numerous illustrations which prove conclusively that the Tudor despotism existed because it was popular, and that Parliamentary rights, during the most despotic period of Henry's rule, were not abrogated, but evaded.

Wolsey undoubtedly wished to convert Parliament into a submissive instrument of royal despotism. His conspicuous failure with the Parliament of 1523, and the further failure of the amicable loan and benevolence of 1525, must have brought home to him the existence of definite limitations to the monarchical power. He had underestimated the strength of constitutional forms; he had expected to find the Parliament servile, and ready to submit to his overbearing treatment. He had imagined that the nation would contribute willingly to the royal necessities, whereas, though the king might raise money by unconstitutional exactions levied on rich individuals, it was only courting failure to embarrass the bulk of the middle classes, busied with trade, by endeavouring to fix upon them increased burdens. Wolsey would have not only rendered the Crown independent of Parliament; he even wished to dispense with Parliament itself. His attempt to make the royal power supreme over Parliament failed because he did not understand

the temper of the English people. His endeavours to raise money in 1525 failed because he did not see that the king could only do what he liked provided he did not ask for large sums from the middle classes. He did not appreciate that condition of national feeling which was willing to give the king a free hand so long as the pockets of the Commons were spared.

In spite, then, of his industry and broad views, Wolsey failed in managing the middle classes, and his failure enabled Parliament and the middle classes to show that they were by no means in a condition of servility. His ministry lay in an exceptional period, when, for the maintenance of order at home and for security from foreign aggression, the nation was willing to acquiesce in the temporary evasion of its constitutional rights and in temporary illegal acts. But the royal exactions were not taxes, nor were the royal proclamations laws. Wolsey's failure taught Henry VIII. a lesson. From 1529 begins a period of government by means of Parliament. Henry VIII., instead of attempting, like Wolsey, to make the Crown independent of Parliament, "induced Parliament to be a willing instrument of the royal will. Wolsey would have subverted the constitution, or at least would have reduced it to a lifeless form: Henry VIII. so worked the constitutional machinery that it became an additional source of power to the monarchy."



SIGNATURE OF WOLSEY.
(MS. Add. 25,116.)

With Wolsey's fall the manipulation of Parliament began. This system was introduced under Cromwell's auspices, and by his means the subservience of Parliament was secured. The methods employed were: direct interference with elections, bribery, the creation of boroughs, and the influence of the Court over members of the Lower House. This new policy was attended with decisive success, and the result was that the royal power was established on a "broader and securer basis than Wolsey could have erected." The King and Parliament.

Wolsey's ministry, then, covers the period when the power of the Crown was more free from constitutional limitations than Summary.

in any previous reign. His term of office saw the attempt made by the royal power under Edward IV. to dispense with Parliaments reach its culminating point. The meeting of the Parliament of 1523 was a definite blow at this unconstitutional system, and with the fall and death of Wolsey that system came to an end. It was not, however, till Elizabeth's reign that Parliament definitely emerged from its position as a tool of the Crown. The Tudor despotism had by this time done its work: it was a means to an end, and that end was attained. Wolsey's great fault was that he regarded the royal absolutism as an end in itself, and that he never appreciated the fact that it was but a means towards the attainment of a definite end. As soon as England had been safely steered through the political, social, and religious revolutions of the sixteenth century, the necessity for the Tudor rule had passed away. Wolsey was a minister "of an age of grand transitions," and, though his political measures were often shortsighted and his financial policy a hand-to-mouth one, he was too great a man to be a mere tool of his despotic master.

CHARLES RAYMOND BEAZLEY. The Coming of the Reformation.

THE dividing-line between medieval and modern England, it has been said, comes in the reign of Henry VII.; but it is in the life of his son that the change becomes apparent, as a revolution —from the age of rights to that of powers, from the Catholic to the Reformed system in Church and State.

At the accession of Henry VIII. English religion did not seem very different from Continental. All Latin Christendom had passed through the common religious decline, and had shared in the common failure to reform the Church from within. A practical paganism seemed to rule in the higher classes of Southern Europe, and a superstitious lethargy had crept over the lower, in every one of the Christian nations, except, perhaps, the Spanish. Devotion was more and more fixed upon the terrors of death, and hell, and purgatory. Gerson, and Sigismund, and Pius II. had worked in vain to restore the life of the Church. She was atrophied, said the alarmists, in head and members. The Popedom was vicious or paganised, and Christendom submitted to its rule. Commerce, science, and naval enterprise—the real activities of the age—now went on

apart from religious impulse, except, again, in the Spanish peninsula.

The Decay of Religious Feeling.

In England, as on the Continent, Christianity had slowly become debased—not so much by a perversion of true doctrines into false, as by the general decay of zeal and interest. The chantry system, the mass traffic, the monastic decline, the later

THE POPULAR CREED (MS. Add. 18,193).

scholasticism, the widening gulf between clergy and laity, were all, in different ways, evidence of decay, though the gorgeous elaboration of the Church system had never been so great. From the days of Walter de Merton the energy of the religious leaders had been mainly turned to education. Even bishops[1]

[1] *Cf.* Fox, Fisher, and Oldham of Exeter. Fisher is specially notable in this connection as the real founder, through Lady Margaret, his penitent, of St. John's and Christ's Colleges, Cambridge, and of the Divinity professor-

now divided "learned clerks" from "idle monks," and preferred—like Wykeham, Waynflete, and Fox—to found colleges rather than abbeys. Only eight houses of religion, and nearly seventy houses of learning and charity, had risen between 1399 and 1509, and in the 870 monasteries of earlier date numbers had decayed with devotion. A few examples may stand for all. The great Friary at Gloucester, which in 1267 had forty inmates, only sheltered seven in Wolsey's day. The Templars in 1310, and the alien priories in 1414 (II., p. 35), had gone the way that all were going.[1] The chantry system—almost unknown before Edward I.—had overgrown the cathedral and parochial, and the mass priests whom it produced, though sometimes used as additional curates, or local schoolmasters and lecturers, lived by abusing the very first principles of the Church; for they sold the Eucharist to those able and willing to buy so many masses for the remission of so many days in purgatory; and though much good work could be done by the chantry priests, and though chantries may have been chapels-of-ease to many parish churches,[2] this tendency to supersede[3] the regular organisation by an exceptional one was certainly felt in the time of Wolsey to have over-reached itself, and was one of the first and favourite marks of Protestant attack. But it was not only a practical, but a doctrinal exaggeration. We must connect it with the popular worship, "not of love, but of fear," with the pictures of hell and judgment, and the dance of death, and the material agonies of the damned, if we would understand, for instance, Latimer's horror of the "Devil's satisfactory propitiatory-mass—our old ancient Purgatory Pickpurse, that evacuates the Cross and the Supper of the Lord."

But to get anything like a general view of English religion in the first half of Henry's reign (1509–29), during the political

ships in both universities, as well as the true beginner of Greek study at Cambridge, just as he began it in his old age for himself and others.

[1] Of 1,200 monasteries, etc., founded in England during the Middle Ages, only about half remained for Henry's dissolution. During the thirty years before 1509 not one was founded.

[2] As in York Cathedral, where Richard III. began a chantry of 100 priests.

[3] As the parish system had been superseded in past time—especially from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries—by monastic and mendicant orders.

supremacy of Wolsey, and while the medieval system was still in name untouched, we must not only look at the proofs

THE DANCE OF DEATH (MS. Add. 17,280).

of a dying world, but at the preparation for a new and living one. For the historical Christianity of the older time was not destroyed in England by the revolution, but *re*-formed, and, as

on the Continent, religion revived in the two forms of Protestant movement and Catholic reaction. Along with practical and doctrinal corruptions, along with decay in art and defection in literature, there was a mass of earnest conservatism, which would soon purify the Church from within, once it were made intelligent, roused to action by fierce attacks from without.

Conservatives, 1509–1529.

The main body of Englishmen, led by their clergy, still held to the medieval faith, as it had been finally presented in the thirteenth century—the three creeds and seven sacraments, the mysterious presence and sacrifice in the mass, the primacy or supremacy of the Pope, and all the doctrine and discipline of their mother, the Roman Church—"Mater et magistra omnium ecclesiarum urbis et orbis"; but the Papal privileges were only a tradition by the side of the sacramental system, the belief in Divine action through material forms,[1] which was the philosophy of Catholicism, the essence of ordinary Christian doctrine at that time. Yet behind this there was, among the more ignorant, a certain background of superstition, and ob-

Superstition.

servers feared that this was on the increase. One saint, one day, one image, was preferred to another, for this boon or for that; the invocation of saints resembled polytheism. "We set every saint in his office and assign him such a craft as pleaseth us—Saint Loy . . . . a horse leech, Saint Ippolitus . . . . a smith, Saint Apollonia a tooth drawer. Saint Syth women set to find their keys, Saint Roke we appoint to see to the great sickness, and Saint Sebastian with him. Some saints serve for the eye only, others for a sore breast." . . . . "As many things as we wish, so many gods have we made," adds Erasmus in his "Encomium of Folly." The conception of the mass became crudely material: some were accused of thinking that the body of Christ could only lie in a *round* wafer. The doctrine of the sacraments, by which the schoolmen had tried to spiritualise the spiritual gifts of the Divine presence, and which had been endorsed by the Lateran decrees of 1215, was not altogether realised by many, who still talked in the language, not of the

[1] *E.g.*, in holy places, causing pilgrimages; in holy earth and water, leading to churchyards and ceremonial sprinklings; in holy persons, causing relic-worship (and, on another side, the consecration of the ministry in Apostolical Succession); in holy words, causing mystical change of *substantia* or essence, as in the Eucharist.

thirteenth century, but of the eleventh.[1] Some of the ceremonies of Lent and Passion-tide seemed to countenance the more gross and material language; and the gloom of the later Middle Ages naturally passed into the religion of men whose daily toil was one of fearful necessity, and who were often forced to crouch before their lords as those lords crouched

"ST. LOY A HORSE LEECH."
(*From a sculptured stone in Wincanton Church, Somerset.*)

before the despotism of the New Monarchy. Local currency was certainly given to pious frauds,[2] to abuses of the Treasury of Merits, and of the Church's "deposit of power." If only money could be raised, as for the Papal schemes in Roman buildings and temporal aggrandisement, indulgences were readily granted

[1] *Cf.* the Lateran Council of 1059, under Nicholas II., and its language about Christ's body in the Eucharistic wafer being ground by the teeth of the faithful.

[2] Beside the well-known rood of Boxley and wonder-working statutes and wells, there was the Holy Thorn at Glastonbury, which bloomed at Christmas, and Our Lady's Girdle at Bruton, which gave safe delivery in childbirth. Several other girdles of the Virgin were shown elsewhere.

for thousands of years from that "fiery furnace that hath burned away so many pence"—along with "canonisations and expectations, pluralities and unions,[1] tot-quots and dispensations, pardons and stationaries, jubilaries and pocularies, manuaries for relics, pedaries for pilgrims, oscularies for kissers." So, at least, said the Hot Gospellers of the time.

Corruption.

But the Church courts and the unemployed and immoral clergy were the most serious difficulties of a conservative reformation, such as Wolsey desired, with the great majority of men of the old and new learning.[2] "Is there nought to be amended in the Arches?" says Latimer in 1536. "Do they rid the people's business, or ruffle and cumber them? Do they correct vice or defend it? How many sentences be given there in time, how many without bribes, if men say true? And what in bishops' consistories? Shall you often see the law's punishments executed, or money redemptions used instead?"

As Bishop Stubbs has told us,[3] the treatment of such moral evils as did not come under the common law was left to the Church courts: these became centres of corruption which primates, legates, and councils tried to reform and failed, acquiescing in the failure rather than allow the intrusion of the secular power.[4] Again, "the majority of the persons now ordained had neither cure of souls nor duty of preaching; their spiritual duty was to say masses for the dead," and, as the result, instead of greater spirituality, there is greater frivolity. In the self-indulgent ranks of the lowest clergy there existed, as among the laity, an amount of coarse vice which had no secrecy to screen it or to prevent it from spreading; and, though the

Clerical Vice.

[1] A list was made by Bishop Gibson of twenty-three clergymen holding, on the average, eight benefices apiece at the opening of Henry VIII.'s reign.

[2] *Cf.* Colet's Sermon before the Convocation of Canterbury, December, 1512. "All evil in the Church is either the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, or the pride of life. . . . We are troubled with heresies, but not so much as with naughty lives. . . . No new laws are needed, only let the old ones be observed. . . . The Bishops must begin."

[3] "Constitutional History of England," III., 373.

[4] *Cf.* Hunne's case, 1513–15, and the king's decision therein:—"You of the spiritualty act expressly against the words of our predecessors, who had never any superior but God. You interpret your decrees at your pleasure, but I will never consent to this, any more than my progenitors." On the other hand, Warham drew up rules for the reform of Church courts, and in 1518 summoned a special synod at Lambeth to treat "of abatement of divers abuses."

higher clergy were mostly pure in life, they were violently charged with pride and worldliness. Churchmen like Morton and Wolsey, the prime ministers of the earlier Tudors, appeared to have more of the statesman than of the pastor; and in the growing prejudice of Englishmen against clerical government, even the abuse of Latimer found a hearing. "Unpreaching prelates . . . be so troubled with lordly living, so placed in palaces, crouched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their dominions, burdened with ambassages, moiling in their manors and mansions, loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend" their duties. "Some are in king's matters, some ambassadors, some of the Privy Council, some furnish the court, some are lords of Parliament, presidents, controllers of mints." "Since priests have been minters," said an unfair proverb, "money hath been worse." The moral side of the Catholic system had been obscured by the ideal, and the rationale of worship, to some extent, forgotten in ritual developments. Latin, still popularly understood in the fourteenth century, had become a hierarchic and learned language in the sixteenth. Though of untold value in the revival of learning, and in the general intercourse of the educated world, the more rigid conservatives threatened to destroy much of its value by refusing to accept its results. For nearly a thousand years Greek thought had been known to the West in Latin versions: now the renewed study of Greek (as in Dean Colet's School at St. Paul's) was challenged as dangerous: "Greek is the tongue of heresy," said Colet's opponents, though Greek was the original tongue of the local Roman Church and its missal.

Obscurantism.

But it was in this new learning that the chief hope of the historical faith really lay. Christian society was not altogether corrupt and outworn, even after Piers Plowman's vision and Morton's visitation of St. Albans (Vol. II., p. 631). The old Church only needed mending, not ending, and the reconstructive movement from within was led by such men as the Oxford reformers of 1498—by Colet, Erasmus, and More—men who deliberately chose conservative reform against revolution when they came to the parting of the ways. In Colet's sermon before the Convocation of 1512, as well as in his Oxford lectures of 1497, on St. Paul's Epistles, and his oration on

Reformers.

Wolsey's Cardinalate, we have, perhaps, the best expression of this temper, and of the party who, by such expression, saved the Church. To keep the Catholic system, but to make of it once more a reasonable service, the friend of every onward movement in society, was their policy. They would fain preserve by adding intelligence to caution.

Yet among these, the true reformers, there were two parties. One, represented by Erasmus, cared for knowledge rather as the end and religion as the means: the other, the party of Warham and Wolsey, of Tunstall and Colet and More, at least believed religion to be the greatest of social forces, if not of human goods, and hoped that learning would refine and invigorate the faith which was the basis of national character. From the latter the churchmen of the Catholic revival drew their leaders, from the former came more and more defection to avowed freethought.

But even without the conscious action of reformers, there had been some signs in the medieval system that it was coming some way to meet the new age. English was displacing Latin in hymns and carols—Wynkyn de Worde's first collection was printed in 1531[1]—and even in some of the processional responses:[2] authorised private devotions, or primers, had been wholly in the vulgar tongue since 1410, and more than thirty editions were printed as late as the years 1520–47. Only the alarm of the Lollards prevented an authorised English Bible long before 1539. "'Tis not much above 100 years," says Cranmer in his Preface to the Great Bible of that year, "since Scripture hath *not* been read in the common tongue within this realm." In 1497–98 Colet had lectured in English on the Epistles of St. Paul, and referred his Oxford hearers from all "mystical glosses" back to the true literal sense of the words.

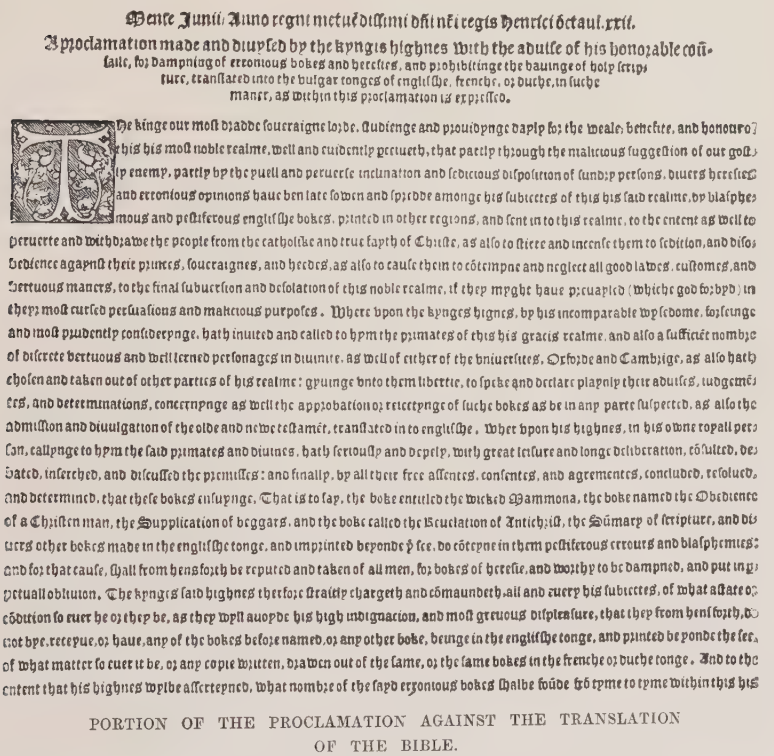
[1] *Cf.* the "macaronic" hymn :—

"Now make us joye in this feste
In quo Christus natus est
A patre unigenitus.
Sing we to Him and say welcome.
Veni Redemptor gentium."

[2] *Cf.* the Sarum Verse at sprinkling of holy water, *circa* A.D. 1470 :—

"Remember your promise made in Baptism,
And Christ's merciful bloodshedding,
By the which most holy sprinkling,
Ye from all your sins have pardon."

Last among its advantages, the Church was in possession of the ground, penetrated men's lives as nothing else could do, and possessed in its 30,000 clergy, its 8,000 parish churches, its 100,000 consecrated buildings, its property equal perhaps to near one-fifth of the national wealth, resources which only needed direction. To pull it down from its privileged, wealthy, ultra-



Mense Junii, Anno regni metuendissimi dñi nri regis Henrici octaui xxxii.

A proclamation made and diuyded by the kyngis highnes with the aduise of his honorable cou-saile, for dampning of erronious bokes and heresies, and prohibitinge the bauinge of holy scripture, translated into the vulgar tonges of englisshe, frenche, or duche, in suche maner, as within this proclamation is expressed.

The kinge our most dradde soueraigne lorde, dutienge and prouidynge dayly for the weale, benefite, and honoure of his most noble realme, well and cuidently perceyueth, that partly through the malicious suggestion of our gostly enemy, partly by the pruell and peruerse inclination and seditious disposition of sundry persons, diuers heresies and erronious opinions haue ben late sowen and spredde amonge his subiectes of this his said realme, by blasphemous and pestiferous englisshe bokes, printed in other regions, and sent in to this realme, to the entent as well to peruerte and withdrawe the people from the catholike and true fayth of Christe, as also to stirre and incense them to sedition, and disobedience agaynst their princes, soueraignes, and heedes, as also to cause them to contempne and neglect all good lawes, customes, and vertuous maners, to the final subuersion and desolation of this noble realme, if they myght haue preuayled (whiche god forbyd) in their most cursed persuasions and malicious purposes. Where vpon the kynges highnes, by his incomparable wysedome, forsenge and most prudently consideringe, hath inuited and called to hym the primates of this his gracis realme, and also a sufficient nombre of discrete vertuous and well lerned personages in diuinite, as well of either of the vniuersites, Oxforde and Cambrige, as also hath chosen and taken out of other parties of his realme: gyuinge vnto them libertie, to speke and declare playnly their aduises, iudgementes, and determinations, concernynge as well the approbation or reiectynge of suche bokes as be in any parte suspected, as also the admission and diuulgation of the olde and newe testament, translated in to englisshe. Wher vpon his highnes, in his owne ropall person, callynge to hym the said primates and diuines, hath seriously and deperly, with great leisure and longe deliberation, cōsulted, debated, intreched, and discussed the premisses: and finally, by all their free assentes, consentes, and agrementes, concluded, resolued, and determined, that these bokes ensuynge, That is to say, the boke entitled the wicked Mammona, the boke named the Obedience of a Christen man, the Supplication of beggars, and the boke called the Recuelation of Antichrist, the Sūmary of scripture, and diuers other bokes made in the englisshe tonge, and imprinted beyonde ꝑ see, do cōteyne in them pestiferous errours and blasphemies: and for that cause, shall from hensforth be reputed and taken of all men, for bokes of heresie, and worthy to be dampned, and put in perpetuall oblition. The kynges said highnes therfore straitly chargeth and cōmaundeth all and euery his subiectes, of what astate or condition so euer he or they be, as they wyll auoyde his high indignacion, and most grieuous displeasure, that they from hensforth, do not bye, receyue, or haue, any of the bokes before named, or any other boke, brunge in the englisshe tonge, and printed beyonde the see, of what matter so euer it be, or any copie written, drawen out of the same, or the same bokes in the frenche or duche tonge. And to the entent that his highnes wylde ascertayned, what nombre of the sayd erronious bokes shalbe founde from tyme to tyme within this his

PORTION OF THE PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

montane position would be found a hard task; to remove its candle altogether could not be done, even by Puritanism.

But with a sleepy conservatism and a new learning, not yet alarmed by a new fanaticism, there seemed an opening for the party of revolution. In the England of Wolsey these men were not yet formidable; the old Wycliffite movement, though very threatening in 1415, had ceased to stir classes or masses from the reign of Henry VI. For the first forty years of Tudor rule

Revolutionists.

there were few signs of the Protestant upheaval.[1] The early "Lutherans" of Oxford, and Cambridge, and London mostly recanted or fled over sea, and the prudent leniency of Wolsey, Warham, and Tunstall deferred the danger till the Governmental struggles broke the English Church from the communion of Rome, and faith began to follow the changes of jurisdiction.

But if the Lollards had failed in their own day, they seem to have prepared the lower classes for some great changes—not in conscious expectation or agitation, but rather in a readiness to acquiesce in steps which the mass of Frenchmen and Spaniards refused to take. From year to year, when once men had "leaped out of Peter's bark," England seemed to wake and find itself more and more Protestant. The earlier Puritans threw themselves heartily into the central purpose of the Tudor revolution—the laicising of the Church, the subjection of the clerical estate—and thus gained in great measure their own ends, just where the Presbyterian[2] doctrinaires of Elizabeth's day provoked a conflict. Latimer did not, like Cartwright, try to substitute a Genevan Popery for the Roman. He was "shod for the preparation of this gospel" when he "endeavoured to teach and set it forth as our Prince hath devised."

Thus the conservatives, the reformers, and the revolutionaries account for all sides of English religion in the first half

[1] *E.g.*, up to Wolsey's fall: (1) May 2, 1511, six men and four women, most from Tenterden, brought before Warham and made to abjure. (2) Later in May, in June, July, August, and September of the same year the registers of Fitz-James of London, Nix of Norwich, Longland of Lincoln, have similar entries. (3) All through March and April, 1521, Warham keeps urging Wolsey to purge Oxford; in August, 1521, accordingly takes place the book-burning at St. Paul's. (4) Five "noted Lutherans" are moved by Wolsey from Cambridge to Christ Church (Cardinal College), Oxford, *circ.* 1523. (5) Tyndale's New Testaments burnt in Cheapside, 1527. (6) Bilney and Arthur recant before Tunstall, November 27, 1527. (7) In 1528 appears Simon Fish's "Supplication of Beggars." The London Protestants were organised into a "Christian Brotherhood," with a central committee and paid agents for distributing New Testaments, etc.

[2] The earlier State Protestantism is well represented in a book like Jewel's "Apology" (especially Part VI.), speaking for the Church of England in 1562, before the High Church revival of 1589–1640. Jewel, attacking the Council of Trent, says in effect, "We [churchmen] can bear our own wrongs. But why shut they out Christian princes from their convocation? For five hundred years the Emperor alone appointed the Church assemblies."

of Henry's reign. We need not count the courtiers and the indifferentists as religious forces, though they powerfully aided the action of those forces. For though Cromwell and Cranmer became two of the Protestant heroes, the mission of both was one of policy rather than of "prophecy"—a mission not to believe or to disbelieve, but to make and to mar. Theirs is essentially a State religion, and their offices, however sacred, are of uncertain tenure—held "during good behaviour."

The political rather than doctrinal reformers, whose chief interest in the struggle was personal and social, became in time the liberals of the seventeenth century, as the rigid conservatives grew into the Tridentine Romans of 1570; as the Oxford reformers grew into the Church of England, and the revolutionists into the Puritan Conformists and Nonconformists of 1662. Protestantism began as a revolt against the critical and pagan spirit of the Renaissance, and then, passing into its stage of warfare with Catholic authority, allied itself for a time, and for a definite purpose, with the free thought it had risen up to combat. Thus the alliance of civilisation with the Christian faith, which had been the aim of the conservative reformers, was broken by the divisions within the religious world itself: thus, while part of the new learning remained the friend of the Church and recreated Catholicism, Roman and Anglican, the other part gradually lost all sympathy with theological interests, and gave itself to art, literature, and science. But as yet, in Wolsey's day, this new learning seemed far more likely to control Latin Christendom than, in any sense, to be put under the ban of the Church

Church and State, 1509–1547.

The histories of Church and State are interwoven in the reign of Henry VIII. in a special sense. Never before or after is the union, the subordination, so complete. The Church-State on its religious side becomes the State Church, the highest department of the civil service of the pontiff-king. Only after his death, and then only very partially, does religion slowly regain some independence of action.

But for his first twenty years (1509–29) he allows his father's system to continue. Wolsey, the greatest of Church statesmen, is the successor of Morton and Fox; the king himself is a far keener churchman than any Tudor before him, studying

with eager personal interest that systematic theology[1] which Julius II. and Leo X. were only supposed to know and to protect. Anti-clerical feeling was latent, but the agitation for Church disendowment, so marked in the Parliaments of 1395, 1404, and 1410, had not been renewed since Henry V.

The Lollard movement had died of inanition. Thus the official history of religion under Henry VII. contains no heresy trials—only a restriction of the rights of sanctuary and benefit of clergy, an increased authority given to the bishop over clerical offenders, and Cardinal Morton's slight attempt—in advance of Wolsey—to visit and reform the monasteries (Vol. II., p. 631).

For the first six years of the new reign Warham held the great seal—fifth of the Tudor bishop-chancellors, "*the* Archbishop" of Erasmus and Grocyn and Colet. It was with a letter of Erasmus that Holbein presented himself at Lambeth to see England and to paint the Primate's likeness. To Warham it was said all men were as brothers in the new love of knowledge; he only made difference between the friends and foes of Christian learning; but he was rather fitted for a patron of scholars than for a leader of Church and State, and between 1513–15 the reins slipped from his hands into those of Thomas Wolsey, once the Boy Bachelor of Magdalen, now the Cardinal Archbishop of York, who as Chancellor and Legate a Latere gathered up all the civil and spiritual power of England into his own hand, and so became the central figure in the last days of the old *régime*.

Wolsey.

To understand Wolsey's position and aims was not in the power of the later partisans, with their division of the world into godly and Papist. His wars and intrigues, his taxes and personal pomp, his Roman connection, his attempts on the Papacy, his all-absorbing power in England, enraged for various reasons the innovating party in religion, the liberal party in politics, the dominant party in Lombard Street.[2] He meant, they said, to slave for the king till he had made his fortune and his master's and then escape to the Papal Court—to the

[1] Writing in 1521, apparently with Wolsey's help, "The Assertion of the Seven Sacraments." His favourite author was St. Thomas Aquinas.

[2] Though a word of praise for Wolsey's commercial policy cannot well be left out of even the most cursory notice of Wolsey's life and work.

chair of St. Peter, if he could. His own defence was ignored, that he wished for the universal See to reform universal Christendom. He disappointed the party of the new culture,

ARCHBISHOP WARHAM.
(From the painting by Holbein at Lambeth Palace, by permission of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.)

who looked to him for more liberal measures in government and religion. He crushed Bible-reading, and so incurred the hatred of all Protestants, learned and unlearned alike. His long tenure of power began to tell upon him, as upon every

minister. Each year there was a greater burden of failures, while men took the ordinary success for granted. The agrarian discontent, so serious later, began to show itself. There was "sore grudging and murmuring among the people" at the benevolence of 1525: it was worse, said the Kentish squires, than the taxes of France; and England, if she paid, would be bond, not free (p. 16).

But it was by the loss of personal favour that Wolsey fell, as he had risen. Henry's will had set him in power, and that will could have kept him there. For nearly twenty years the Butcher and his dog had ruled,[1] said his enemies, looking on at Buckingham's ruin; but the servant was only there to satisfy his lord, who "for any part of his appetite would put the half of his realm in danger." As the cardinal, like More, was too great a man to be the mere tool of an irresponsible will, that will destroyed him, and with him, for a time, the cause of conservative reform. Revolution came in with his successor, Thomas Cromwell. Like the body of the clergy, Wolsey was felt, or said, to be "but half an English subject"; like them, the præmunire, from which he had been practically, if not legally, exempted, was used against him. When the seals were taken from him in 1529, the Church was left "at the foot of a dynasty that had learnt to kick over and trample upon it."

Wolsey's Work.

But what had Wolsey done—how had things moved—in these twenty years from 1509 to 1529? There had been no open breach, no violent religious revival, but the Protestant movement had begun abroad, and had also begun to touch England from Germany; the new learning was passing into the religious revolution; the fifteenth-century division of Christendom into fully organised nations was becoming a division into warring Churches; and, as the Papacy became more and more of a petty Italian State, and less of an œcumenical arbitrator, clerical power became more and more isolated, while the Crown grew stronger. The Tudors had not started with a design of secularising, but they had chosen their ministers from among churchmen and made bishops of their ministers, till the bishops

[1] The butcher (Henry), the dog (Wolsey)—as Charles V. meant simply—are confused by Polydore Vergil, who starts the tale of Wolsey's birth from a butcher's family.

forgot that they were anything but ministers. Yet Wolsey, though many thought he had forgotten his profession, was still able to show at the end of life the example of a Grosseteste; and, in estimating his policy, it will be fair to call it essentially that of a churchman—the last great champion of the medieval system.

He aimed first of all at reform of the English Church, by cautiously converting the monastic into an educational system, by enlarging the Episcopate, by a strict and constant visitation of the parish clergy, and by restating and guarding the constitutional position towards Rome. With doctrinal alterations, even with such practical reforms as the use of English for Latin, Wolsey does not concern himself. He seems to believe that all will come right if the old and new learning are once united, as Colet had tried to do in his school at St. Paul's, as Colet's lifelong friend tried at Ipswich and Cardinal College. In these two foundations Wolsey followed the plans of Merton, and of Wykeham—of Merton, in the general idea of reformation through education; of Wykeham, in the plan of a great country school as the necessary feeder of a university college. In 1524–25 his Oxford house of learning was endowed and opened; in 1528 the cardinal himself drew up the rules[1] for the Ipswich school, in Latin, prescribing the course of study for each of the eight classes into which he divided his boys. For this project he adopted a plan of uniting smaller monasteries with the larger, and devoting the funds thus gained to the new work of teaching; he even schemed to commute the payment of annates by a plan which would not only have satisfied the king's needs for a time, but have added funds for scholarship, and relieved the irritation with Rome.

His school and his professorships were suppressed, and his college refounded and curtailed by the master who plundered him. His schemes appeared to fall with his power, and yet after he had surrendered everything and retired to his "benefice of York," he was more dreaded than before. The reason was

[1] Still extant, and reprinted in 1825. Wolsey's foundation at Oxford provided for a dean, a sub-dean, 60 canons of the First Order, 40 of the Second, 13 chaplains, 12 clerks, 16 choristers, with lecturers on Divinity, Canon Law, Physic, Philosophy, Logic, and Humanity; and four censors, three treasurers, four stewards, 20 inferior servants, 186 students.

plain: in the North he acted the bishop as well as he had acted the statesman at Court, and he was rallying all the countryside round himself, and the cause of the Church in him, when the final order came for his arrest:—

"Who less beloved than my lord Cardinal before he came? Who more, after he had been there, and of utter enemies made them all his friends? He gave bishops a right good example to win men's hearts. There were few holy days but he would ride five or six miles, now to this parish church, now to that, and there cause one or other of his doctors to make a sermon unto the people. He sat amongst them, and said mass before all the people; . . . he saw why churches were made: . . he began to restore them to their proper use. He brought his dinner with him, and bade divers of the parish to it. He inquired if there was any debate or grudge between any. If there were, he sent after dinner for the parties to the church and made them all one."[1]

His journey northward from his Nottingham palace at Southwell to "Cawood by York," was the progress of a popular leader; the first day, from "eight till twelve and from one to four," he stood confirming the children brought to him as he passed, till "constrained by very weariness to sit down in a chair." Next morning, "or ever he departed," he confirmed one hundred children more, and "at a stone cross near Ferry-bridge there were assembled two hundred others, for whom he alighted, and never removed his foot till he had confirmed them all." At Cawood, "he lay with love of worshipful and of simple, exercising himself in charities and keeping open house for all comers, having also, to rebuild the castle, above three hundred artificers daily in wages," and preparing for his enthronement in York Cathedral, "not going upon a way of scarlet cloth like our predecessors" (as he warned the Chapter) "but right simplily upon the vamps of our hosen."

At this moment came his arrest. He was hurried up to London to answer for the social success of the last few months; but the countryfolk in York and Doncaster ran after him, when taken from them, cursing his enemies: "The foul evil take them—a very vengeance light on them—God save your Grace." Utterly broken in mind and in body, he could get no further than Leicester—"a very wretch replete with misery," but who at the last realised that religion and despotism, the

[1] "Remedy for Sedition," published 1536 (*cf.* Cavendish's Life of Wolsey).

old Church and the new monarchy, might not always be friends. "Every man layeth the burden from him; I am content to take it on me, and to endure the fame and noise of the people for my good will towards the king; but the Eternal God knoweth all."

The fall of Wolsey is not only a political tragedy, it is the

PALACE GATEWAY, CAWOOD, NEAR YORK.

sign of a social revolution nigh at hand; it is a proximate cause of the Reformation in England. The leader of the Church interest had barred, by his control of the executive, the entrance of foreign Protestantism. Lutherans he had gently but firmly kept under, as a new type of Lollard, as

The Reformation begins.

political incendiaries. By his favour with the Crown he had kept all aristocratic control and influence from the king; by his position alike in Rome and Westminster, he had been able to supersede the Pope till men could not bear the old foreign interference. The Legate-Chancellor prepared the law, the Church, the nobles, the gentry and commons of England for the new monarchy of Henry VIII.; and "the nation which trembled before Wolsey learned to tremble before the king who could destroy Wolsey at a breath." This was the underlying social fact of his rule, and his fall, taking away all check on the royal will, opened the door for foreign influence, Court factions, and a new national position, just so far as that royal will chose to go, and the nation, which it so wonderfully reflected, chose to follow. Wolsey had trained the king in tact, in statesmanship, in knowledge of politics and of life, till "he could manipulate the very prejudice and ignorance of the people to his own purposes."[1] From 1529 Henry VIII. is his own sole minister; no man could tame him.

Causes of the English Reformation.

We are now on the eve of the Reformation Parliament and its evolution of the modern Church-State system of England. The separation from Rome, the reconstruction of English religion, if it began with the personal matter of the king's divorce, is carried through with something of the quiet power of a force of Nature, and we must clearly separate the personal, the intellectual, and the social causes of the revolution (1529–36).

Personal.

Among the personal causes came the king's scruples about his "incest" with his brother's wife, his passion for Anne Boleyn, his disgust at Roman evasion, his disappointment with Wolsey as an instrument, his necessary abatement of strict orthodoxy through his connection with the hereticising Boleyns. The Defender of the Faith and Assertor of the Seven Sacraments gradually came to see in the disloyalty of a Papist something worse than Lutheranism. Wolsey, ruined partly for "Popery," partly for insufficient diplomatic conscience, was replaced by the agnostic Cromwell, who neither feared God nor regarded men by the side of his personal interests. Warham, a little later, replaced by Cranmer, More and Fisher by Audley and Wriothesley, Queen Catherine by Anne Boleyn and Jane

[1] Stubbs, "Lectures on Medieval and Modern History," p. 332.

Seymour—who can deny that the changed *personnel* of the Court acted as a part cause of the social change?

The intellectual preparation for some great change is evident in the groups of classical enthusiasts and liberal reformers who had not yet been called to choose between the Church and science, and to this influence must be added that of the

Intellectual.

ANNE BOLEYN.
(*By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Warwick.*)

books and tracts which had been pouring out of Germany since 1517. After Wolsey's removal, these became the favourite reading of "earnest" people, as the wider schemes of social reformers—of More's Utopia, for instance—were forgotten in men's concentration on the religious struggle.

Of social preparation for the Reformation in England there was little in active, conscious movement; enough in passive indifference to, or dislike of, foreign bishops, in the dogged

Social.

national pride and independence of character, in the popular love of English speech and ways and government. Catholicism without the Pope was the latent wish of most Englishmen, and Henry succeeded by interpreting into fact just so much and no more. He struck the true average, and that average backed him against the Pope and the clergy, against all tendencies to go back into "Papism," against the reaction caused by the monastic dissolution.

There was not only a social aversion to Rome, there was the old Lancastrian layman's feeling of rebellion against anything of sacerdotal dominion. The bishops' courts, the privileges of sanctuary and of clergy, had all been "blown upon" under Henry VII.; and now the vast wealth and separate Parliament of the clerical estate, its alleged control of one-fifth of English land, its dominance in the peerage (where the spiritual lords still numbered forty-eight out of eighty-four), its hold on political power through the almost unbroken succession of clerical ministers, especially in the Tudor period, as chancellors, keepers, and presidents of council, all provoked the cry "Restrain." Want of governance had been the complaint under the House of Lancaster; now it was plainly seen by the king that the clergy, by their local power as well as by their foreign allegiance, were "but half [the king's] subjects." Nobles, gentry, merchants, lawyers, thus invited by the Crown, made good speed to the feast. The wealthiest corporation in the realm was to be despoiled; this added zest to the thought of freedom from restraint. For however much the Church, in and out of England, had sunk from the thirteenth century, it was still the most powerful and penetrating discipline in society; men met with its prohibitions and canons, felt its help or its hindrance in every walk of life. The king himself was a spiritual subject of the servants of God; now the mass of Englishmen helped to raise him to a lay popedom.

Its Character.

The English Reformation was the overthrow of sacerdotalism as a form of government. Beginning, not with doctrine, as foreign Protestantism began, but with jurisdiction, it followed "no law but that of its own development," and resulted in a revolution which cannot be classified; for, in spite of its religious form and dress, it was in essence political and social,

and, as a middle-class movement, is connected with the Long Parliament of 1640, and with the dynastic change which we call so oddly "the Revolution."

A. L. SMITH. The New Era in Church and State.

With Wolsey's fall begins a new phase, not only in the history of the English Church, but in the position of Parliament and in the character of the king himself. It was significant that the issue of writs for a Parliament in 1529 was held to be a decisive sign of the coming ruin of the minister who during all his years of power had called a Parliament but once—in 1523; and that assembly he had tried to bully into submission. His method had been to ignore or override Parliament; from 1529 the king rapidly learned that it was nearly as easy, and much safer and more specious, to work with a Parliament, to flatter and bribe it, to play upon it and make it his mouthpiece. Above all, it became clear to him that if he was to secure his divorce from Katherine and his marriage with Anne Boleyn, it must be by a rupture with the Papacy and by the nation supporting him in such a course; and this, again, could only be effected by utilising the national jealousies against the clerical order, and by thus breaking down the power of the Church for resistance. The first step to this was to emphasise the ancient doctrine of Præmunire (Vol. II., p. 200). This doctrine, implying the denial of any foreign authority over the English Church and the complete subordination of the spiritual courts to the supreme jurisdiction of the Crown, had already been asserted in the remarkable case of Doctor Standish in 1515. Accordingly, in the Long Parliament of the Reformation ecclesiastical abuses were at once assailed, and by adroit manipulation the king got bills passed against them. In 1531 he forced the clergy to buy off the penalties by paying a fine, set with a show of legal precision, at an exact sum (£118,840 8s. 8d.), and by acknowledging him as "Supreme Head of the Church after Christ"—"a futile reservation," as Chapuis, the astute imperial envoy, contemptuously characterises it. In 1532 Henry presenting himself in person both in the Lords and the Commons, forced through both Houses his bill transferring "first fruits" from pope to king, and later got the Commons to accept as their own the attack on clerical jurisdiction drawn up by himself. By

1533 Warham and More had been replaced by Cranmer and Audley; Cromwell was now the chief minister; the king had already secretly married Anne; the lords had been brought round to the side of the Boleyns; and the Parliament was coerced into finally ratifying the Statute of Appeals. The rupture with Rome was thus an accomplished fact. Later Parliaments show similar submissiveness. They allowed the king to repudiate his debts and to be reimbursed for such as he had already paid; they gave his proclamations the force of law, adding the suicidal declaration that if this power were not conferred the king would be forced to assume it for himself. They legalised the surrender of the monasteries retrospectively. They made it treason to reject a form of oath under the Succession Act, and left the king to draw up the terms of that oath. They stirred not a finger to save Katherine, or More, or Fisher, any more than to save Anne or Cromwell. They gave Henry the unheard-of right to dispose of the crown by his will. They accepted in 1536 the Statute of Uses (pp. 55, 171), and in 1540 the Statute of Wills, against both of which they had at first protested in 1532. They bowed to the ground when the royal name was mentioned; they wept aloud when the king himself addressed them. No wonder that some writers have maintained that in all he did the king was the interpreter of the real wishes of the nation, that the preambles of the statutes are simple statements of facts, that the people desired a dictator. Others represent the nation as submitting, in a sort of dream, to acts which none fully realised, and statements which none could approve, as intimidated, tricked, and bribed by the deep-laid plans of a wholly conscienceless and masterful ruler.

The Breach with Rome.

The truth lies somewhere between these two extremes. But the exact discrimination in more than one important point still awaits determination from a further knowledge of foreign and domestic State-papers. Perhaps, in the nature of the case, it can never be finally determined, but will continue to be somewhat differently judged by each inquirer according to his religious and political bias.

Thomas Cromwell.

It is as natural to connect the years 1529 to 1540 with the name of Thomas Cromwell, as to connect the years before 1529 with the name of Thomas Wolsey. But, as a matter of fact, when Shakespeare so dramatically makes the fallen minister's

Anglici Matrimonij.

Sententia diffinitiua

Lata per sanctiss.um. Dñm Nostrum. D. Clementem. Papã. vij. in sacro Consistorio de Reuerendiss.morum Dominorum. S. R. E. Cardinalium consilio super validitate Matrimonij inter Serenissimos Henricum. VIII. et Catherinam Anglie Reges contracti.

PRO.

Eadem Serenissima Catherina Angliæ Regina,

CONTRA.

Serenissimum Henricum. VIII. Angliæ Regem.

Clemens Papa. vij.

CHristi nomine inuocato in Trono iustitiæ pro tribunali sedentes, & solum Deum præ oculis habentes, Per hanc nostram diffinitiuam sententiam quam de Venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum Sanctæ Ro. Ec. Car. Consistorialiter coram nobis congregatorum Consilio, & assensu ferimus in his scriptis, pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus, in causa, & causis ad nos, & Sedem Apostolicam per appellationem, per charissimam in christo filiam Catherinam Angliæ Reginam Illustrem a nostris, & Sedis Apostolicæ Legatis in Regno Angliæ deputatis interposi eam legitime deuolutis, & aduocatis, inter prædictam Catherinam Reginam, & Charissimum in christo filium Henricum. VIII. Angliæ Regem Illustrem, super Validitate, & invaliditate matrimonij inter eosdem Reges contracti, & consumati rebusq; aliis in actis, causæ & causarum huiusmodi latius deductis, & dilecto filio Paulo Capisucho causarum sacri palatij tunc decano & propter ipsius Pauli absentiam Venerabili Fratri nostro Iacobo Simoncæ Episcopo Pisaurien. vnus ex dicti palatij causarum Auditoribus locumtenens, audiendis instruendis, & in Consistorio nostro Secreto referendis commissis, & per eos nobis, & eisdem Cardinalibus Relatis, & mature discussis, coram nobis pendentibus, Matrimonium Inter predictos Catherinam, & Henricum Anglie Reges contractum, & inde secuta quecunq; fuisse, & esse validum, & canonicum validaq;, & Canonica, suosq; debitos debuisse, & debere sortiri effectus, prolemq; exinde susceptam, & suscipiendam fuisse, & fore legitimam, & præfatum Henricum Angliæ Regem teneri, & obligatum fuisse, et fore ad cohabitandum cum dicta Catherina Regina eius legitima coniuge, illamq; maritali affectione, & Regio honore tractandum, & eundem Henricum Angliæ Regem ad præmissa omnia, & singula cum effectu adimplendum condemnandum ommibusq; iuris Remedijs cogendum, & compellendum fore, prout condemnamus, cogimus, & compellimus, Molestationesq;, & denegationes Per eundem Henricum Regem eidem Catherinæ Reginæ super invalidatate, ac fœdere dicti Matrimonij quomodolibet factas, & præstitas fuisse, & esse illicitas, & iniustas, & eidem Henrico Regi super illis ac invalidatate matrimonij huiusmodi perpetuum Silentium imponendum fore, & imponimus, eundemq; Henricum Angliæ Regem in expensis in huiusmodi causa pro parte dictæ Catherinæ Reginæ coram nobis, & dictis ommibus legitime factis condemnandum fore, & condemnamus, quarum expensarum taxationem nobis imposterum reseruamus.

Ita pronunciauimus .I.

Lata fuit Romæ in Palatio Apostolico publice in Consistorio die. XXIII. Martij. M. D. XXXIIII.

Blosius.

loyal champion succeed him at once, he is using some poetic licence. There was an interval of some three and a half years between Wolsey's disgrace and Cromwell's rise to the chief position. When Chapuis says "he rules everything," it is towards the close of 1533. This interval, like the time before Wolsey's rise and the time after Cromwell's fall, was occupied by the influence of the great nobles, especially the Howards, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's uncle and father. But abler heads and tempers more flexible than those of proud nobles were needed to conduct a policy in the critical months when Henry was expecting an invasion by Charles and a possible rising at home. The man who now stepped to the front, and for six years at least seemed the virtual ruler of England, was one whose career had already had strange experiences, and whose inmost character and aims still remain to some extent a mystery. Thomas Cromwell was at this time about forty-eight years old. He had lived in Italy the school of courtesy as well as of statecraft; he had served there as a common soldier and then as a clerk; he had lived as a merchant in Flanders, and from 1513 was a law-agent in London. The next year he entered Wolsey's service, and conducted the dissolution of some small monasteries for him. He had become so identified with Wolsey's schemes that he must needs stand by his ruined master; and he did so with great apparent courage. But it is probable that he played a double game—winning the king's favour while he facilitated his designs on the cardinal's wealth, saving the victim at the cost of his benefices and his intended colleges. It was his subtle suggestion —for Cardinal Pole's account is too emphatic and circumstantial to be rejected—which encouraged the king to cut the knot of the divorce by getting himself declared Head of the Church. It was, again, his open boast to Pole that he took his views of government, not from the dreams of Plato, but from the practical wisdom of "a deadly book"—Macchiavelli's "Prince," then just coming into notice. It was by his double dealing, the Commons complained in 1531, that the laity were not expressly included in the pardon granted to the clergy. He was not merely unrivalled as a bold and original councillor, and as an unerring go-between; he was also a most adept and indefatigable contriver in finance. This combination of qualities made him indis-

pensable; and in rapid succession he was made Privy Councillor, Master of the Jewels, Clerk of the Hanaper, Master of the Wards, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Royal Secretary, Master of the Rolls, general Visitor of monasteries; and, finally, in 1534, the king's vicegerent in all causes ecclesiastical, with precedence over all prelates and peers. On him rests the immediate, as on Henry the ultimate, responsibility for the scandalous manner in which the suppression of the monasteries was effected and the punishment of the recalcitrant Carthusians (p. 64). By his advice, though with Henry's full complicity, the nobles and gentry were bribed into acquiescence by a wholesale participation in the spoils. It was he who managed the trial and execution of Anne Boleyn, and the shameless persecution of the Princess Mary. Naturally enough, therefore, the "Pilgrimage of Grace," the armed rising of Lincolnshire and the North, was directed against "the villein blood in the king's council," and the rebels denounced him as a heretic and a traitor.

The Pilgrimage of Grace.

That which distinguishes the great rising of 1536–37 from all other such movements is its complex character. It was at once aristocratic and popular, clerical and lay. It was revolutionary and yet conservative; reactionary as well as progressive. Its watchwords are sometimes political, sometimes religious, sometimes merely agrarian. The cries of "Down with Cromwell!" or "Down with enclosures!" swell now and again almost to a demand for a separate administration of the North, or a clamour for the dethronement of Henry by Scotch and Papal aid.

The leaders were remarkable men. Yet they were only the mouthpieces of a deep and widespread feeling already armed and organised. To this feeling all classes contributed, for each class had its own grievance. The lords hated the recent changes and their low-born authors. The gentry raged against the new statutes which forbade a man, they said, to leave aught to his daughters or his younger sons. The "poor commons" saw in "enclosures" the cause of rent-raising, decay of husbandry, and depopulation of parishes. The whole of the North resented the growing concentration of lawsuits at Westminster; and still more the destruction of the abbeys which were their pride and veneration; which furnished

teachers for their sons, and trustees for their estates; which were the centres of culture and traffic, of hospitality and industry to the scattered folk.

The Lincolnshire Rising.

Finally, all classes were united in detestation of the idea of heresy. In the autumn of 1536 three commissions were at work, any one of them adequate to produce a revolt—one for assessing the subsidy, one for suppression of monasteries, and one for a visitation of parish clergy. At Louth, in Lincolnshire, on Sunday, 1st October, 1536, the people rose under "Captain Cobbler." By Wednesday, 4th October, the whole shire was in revolt. Their banner bore a plough, a chalice and host, the five wounds of Christ, and a horn. Vicars and priests, seven or eight hundred in number, headed them; and they sent their demands to the king at Windsor. Henry acted with true Tudor spirit; and his lieutenant, Lord Shrewsbury, was undaunted. But he had only 4,000 men. By October 6th there were 30,000 rebels gathered at Lincoln. But by October 11th the king's muster under the Duke of Suffolk had come up. The rebels were already dispersing for lack of provisions. A split took place among their leaders; the gentry were nearly murdered by the clergy and the commons. On Friday, the 13th, Suffolk entered Lincoln. The revolt was over. No wonder the royal letter, pardoning all but a few ringleaders, spoke with scorn of the presumption of "the rude commons of one shire, and that the most brute and beastly of the whole realm."

The Yorkshire Rising.

But already the great shire of York had taken up the cause, and this time the cause was guided by the wise and active brain of Robert Aske. His orders ran like royal writs from Humber to Tweed. On 16th October 40,000 men in harness were encamped in and around York. The Archbishop of York joined them. So did Lord Darcy, the chief noble in the East Riding and a soldier of sixty years' experience. "The king feareth much this matter," wrote his secretary. The only great houses of the North who remained wholly loyal were the Cliffords and Dacres. At Doncaster the royal array under Norfolk, some 8,000 in number, saw that only the swollen river was between them and 30,000 "as tall men and well horsed and appointed as any men could be." What saved England from a civil war was mainly the rebel leaders' generous con-

HENRY VIII., PRINCESS MARY, AND WILL SOMERS, ATTRIBUTED TO HOLBEIN.
(*By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl*)

fidence in the righteousness of their own cause and in the royal justice.

Submission and Suppression.

Norfolk agreed to their terms. They sent envoys to the king, who gained them over by fair words. He promised in December a general pardon, a northern Parliament, to be held at York, and (so Norfolk as well as Darcy thought) some concession to their demands. It is noteworthy that the popular grievances (enclosures, fines, subsidies) had some remedies applied; but in the direction of reaction desired by the clergy and the nobles the king would not stir a foot. Garrisons were placed in the North; the oath of allegiance reimposed. A new rebellion blazing up again in January and February, 1537, was made an excuse to arrest the leaders of the former revolt.

The king's councillors knew that the Scots king was planning an invasion; and Reginald Pole, from Flanders, was corresponding with malcontents in England. The vengeance taken was exemplary, and was perhaps treacherous; but there was no wholesale bloodshed. Punishment fell on the chiefs alone. Of the Lincolnshiremen, Lord Hussey, the Abbot of Kirksted, and seventeen others were executed. Of the Northerners, sixteen were condemned in due legal form; Darcy was beheaded, the heir of the Percies hanged, with five gentlemen and the Abbots of Fountains and Jervaulx. Lady Bulmer was burned. Aske and Constable were paraded through the Eastern counties and hanged in chains, one at York, the other at Hull. Darcy's fierce outbreak on his trial ("Cromwell, thou art the cause of this rebellion. . . . I trust ere thou die there shall one noble head remain to strike off thy head") showed the bitter wrath of the nobles. Pole's eager hopes and the wild words of the Northern vicars show the deep fury of the clergy.

Significance of the Rising.

But neither nobles nor clergy could stay the destruction that was laying low the two orders. Only on the popular side of this remarkable movement can we discern its importance for the future. It is in the resolute pleadings of Aske, in the passionate cries of "the poor commons," that we catch the first mutterings of that mighty voice of the people, before which, a century hence, the fabric of absolutism reared by the Tudors was to fall for ever to the ground.

Meantime Cromwell had been adding office to office: he

was made Lord Privy Seal, Baron Cromwell, a Knight of the Garter, Dean of Wells and Prebend of Sarum, Warden of the Forests north of Trent, Captain of Carisbrooke, Constable of Leeds. The revenues of four great monasteries were made over to him.

But all along there were signs that, once the hour had struck, his fall would be even more sudden and irretrievable than Wolsey's. Even in the height of his power, "the king beknaveth him once or twice a week and sometimes knocks him about the pate" (p. 203). He committed the fatal error of trying

FOUNTAINS ABBEY.

to guide the king where he should have been humbly seconding him. Already, in 1539, the passing of the Six Articles Act indicated a check in the forward policy which he had pursued. By his zeal in pushing negotiations for the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves, he doubtless intended to make it impossible for the king to draw back from the alliance with the Lutheran princes which would arrest any further relapse in English policy from the onward progress of the Reformation movement. With that inscrutable tigerish humour which is so marked a feature in Henry's character, the king continued to heap honours on the servant he must already have determined

to destroy, and created him Lord Chamberlain in 1539, Earl of Essex in 1540. The king was disgusted with Anne of Cleves, the "great Flanders mare" (p. 341); the Lutheran alliance was needed no more; Cromwell had accumulated upon himself and diverted from his master as much unpopularity as was possible; his usefulness was over; he was to be struck down as mercilessly as he himself had struck down others. Indicted for acts of which it was pretended the king was not cognisant, attainted by Parliament without a trial, refused leave even to speak in his own defence, his last appeals for life left unanswered, he was beheaded 28th July, 1540. Few, if any, English ministers had higher abilities than Thomas Cromwell; perhaps no single one ever wielded wider powers or a more critical influence; certainly none presents so strange a career and so enigmatic a character. This "hammer of monks," this iconoclast and destroyer of the Church, can hardly be credited, nevertheless, with any sincere Protestantism. In life he inveighed against Lutheranism; at the block he declared he died a true Catholic; in his will he left money for masses. There were even wild rumours that he was plotting to marry the Princess Mary and to make himself king. We are fain to confess that over the man himself and his fate there still hangs a mystery.

Fall of Cromwell.

After Cromwell's death there was, indeed, no further need of anyone to stand between the king and any possible opposition, for opposition had ceased. Clergy, lords, commons—all seem to have no will of their own left. Even the influence of the Howards ceased when the immorality of Queen Katherine Howard was discovered in 1542, and she was hurried to execution with the same ferocious abruptness as the others. The elastic theory of "constructive treason" undid the protecting work of Plantagenet Parliaments. It was easy thereby to dispose of the victims to dynastic or personal jealousy; de la Pole, beheaded in 1513, Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in 1521, were possible rivals. Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, was descended from Edward IV.; Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, from Edward's brother Clarence. Such pedigrees suggested the scaffold, and the head of the Marquis fell in 1539, of the aged Countess in 1541. Even the Howards could not escape: on trumpery charges, the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey were imprisoned. Surrey was

The King Supreme.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE GREAT BIBLE, 1540.

(*Cromwell, Cranmer, and the King distributing Bibles.*)

The Old Nobility and the New.

put to death, and Norfolk only owed his life to the fact that the king died that very morning. This might seem enough to cow the nobles into submission. But they were bribed, too. For example, Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, received no less than thirty grants of monastic foundations in the single county of Lincolnshire. Out of the confiscated Church lands new families were built up by the royal favour. Russell, Cavendish, Seymour, Grey, Dudley, Sidney, Cecil, Herbert, Fitzwilliam—these are the names that henceforth replace the Mortimers, Bohuns, and Bigods, the Mowbrays and Nevilles, of the Middle Ages. So that in this respect as in others Henry VIII.'s reign and Henry VIII.'s personal will have exercised a permanent influence on our national history. But neither intimidation nor corruption exhausts the list of means by which the Tudors controlled the great houses. The State-papers show an intricate system of loans, fines, remittances, official appointments, by which an irresistible network of financial obligations was drawn about the embarrassed lords and greater gentry. And in that age of costly pageants and reckless personal expense, of rapid fluctuations in money-values and of fast-changing economic conditions, there were few who were not embarrassed.

King and People.

The similar question—How the Tudors managed to secure such an astonishing acquiescence on the part of the people at large—must be answered somewhat differently. No doubt it was due in a great measure to the fact that the people desired, above all things, peace and order. They had not forgotten the Wars of the Roses. No doubt, too, the Parliamentary struggles and victories of the fourteenth century had been obscured, and Parliament itself discredited, by the humiliating failure of Parliamentary government under Henry VI. Moreover, as the nations of Europe passed from the feudal to the modern mould, there was an imperative demand for a strong central power in each to watch over the transition; and England was now feeling what France and Spain had already experienced. But, true as these considerations are, there were two further factors in the case which historians have been apt to ignore. One is the very real and present sense there was of probable attacks upon England either by France and Scotland, or later on by the emperor; the other factor is the extraordinary skill with which Henry manufactured public opinion, or at any rate

anticipated and magnified it. There still remains enough to admire in what he achieved and presented to the nation as its own deliberate acts. But the State-papers begin to give us some insight into the means by which it was all done.

The Popular Check.

That there were limits to his power, that the popular spirit of freedom was dormant but not dead, he himself probably saw, and more clearly than we can. A good instance is the conduct

TOMB OF SIR RICHARD HERBERT, ABERGAVENNY CHURCH.

Statute of Uses.

he pursued in regard to the Statutes of Uses and Wills (p. 171). The former had been introduced in 1531. It was in strict analogy with the ecclesiastical reforms. By the practice which had grown up of creating "uses," or equitable interests in land, the king lost his succession-dues on estates, just as by the practice of paying "annates," or first-fruits, to the Pope, the king lost his succession-dues on benefices. The remedy was to bring

uses within the common law, just as the Church jurisdiction had been brought. Similarly, the extra-legal power of devise which had grown up should be allowed as to one-half a man's lands; to the other half the heir must succeed, and so the king would recover his old feudal rights. It was a great social and legal reform, and a justly conceived one. But there was great uproar, as Chapuis tells us; men clamoured that the king was taking half of each man's lands. The king was not of yielding stuff, and he had right and common-sense on his side this time. But he had to postpone the Statute of Uses till 1536, and the Pilgrimage of Grace extorted from him the Statute of Wills in 1540, which gave him far less than he had aimed to get in 1531.

Disendowment and Reconstruction.

For the last seven years of the reign Henry was more than ever his own minister. The Parliaments were fewer, of briefer tenure, and more deferential than ever. His hold on the people was unshaken. The spoliation side of his Church policy went on sweepingly. The chantries, hospitals, colleges and guilds were attacked in 1545; the Oxford and Cambridge colleges were some of them dissolved, and all in danger. The scheme of new and sounder foundations was a fraud; Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity, Cambridge, were simply the salvage from greater wrecks. In spite of fifteen years of plunder on this Gargantuan scale, despite "amicable loans" and benevolences, pensions from France, and confiscated estates at home, this royal robber, who had inherited the vast treasure laid up by Henry VII., ended by that financial crime and blunder rarely perpetrated in England, a systematic debasement of the coinage (p. 165).

In other respects his policy aimed at an immovable balance between "the rash party" and "the dull party," to use his own words. He had become "Supreme Head of the Church," but he remained "Defender of the Faith." With his last wife, Katharine Parr, there came more Protestant influences about the court; but if Latimer was protected in his plain speaking, yet Anne Askew was tortured and burned for denying transubstantiation.

Character of Henry VIII.

In the thousand years' record of our English kings, not one is so hard to judge as Henry VIII. The idol of his people in earlier years, their unquestioned master throughout, who harangues them from a superior height as much of goodness as

of wisdom and power, he is apt to strike the modern sense as almost a monster of selfishness, cruelty, and lust. It is, indeed, the truth to say that he was revengeful, self-willed, superlatively wasteful, and self-indulgent; that he was a profligate, if not beyond contemporary rulers, yet with a harder and more unredeemed grossness; that we never see him touched by gratitude, remorse, or even misgiving, never see him waver in that belief in himself, that self-worship, which is almost sublime. It is not, perhaps, much defence to point out that this self-worship, coupled with a long tenure of absolute power, did much towards the degradation of his character. Fisher had been his father's counsellor and his own; More had been his intimate friend. It is after sacrificing them that his worst deeds are done: the trumping-up of charges against Anne, the heartlessness of taking a new wife the day after Anne's execution, the brutal treatment of Cromwell. The extraordinary thing is the ascendancy which he had over the mind, the will, almost the conscience even, of the best and greatest men. It must be remembered that he was cultured and learned, many-sided in his interests and his accomplishments, and had thought deeply on the stirring questions of his day. He was, in fact, a man of exceptional abilities; abilities which were predominantly practical. He had a clear and fixed view of what was the wisest policy to

SECOND SEAL OF HENRY VIII.
(*Showing Gothic Architecture.*)

THIRD SEAL OF HENRY VIII.
(*Showing Renaissance Architecture.*)

adopt, and this view he forced through to the end, often with violence or fraud, with greed or cruelty. The moralist, the religious biographer, the constitutional lawyer, will condemn him. Yet in the general verdict of history it must be allowed that much that he did was necessary, much was good, and out

HENRY VIII. AT HIS DEVOTIONS (MS. Roy. 2 A. xvi.).

of the evil itself came goodness in the final issue. He must be pronounced the strongest, ablest, and most individual personality among all English kings.

CHARLES RAYMOND BEAZLEY. The Severance from Rome.

THE immediate effect of the breach with Rome, the imposition of the royal supremacy on the Church of England, the subjection of Convocation to impotence, and the dissolution of the monasteries, was "not to vary," as Henry said, "in any jot from the faith catholic," but to sever English Christianity from the older Western federation, and to interweave Church and State so closely that the Church became the nation in

one of its aspects, but without power of independent action, controlled by that same nation in another aspect, by the lay power represented in Parliament and the king.

Here was the secret of the permanence of the English Reformation—in the social victory of the great lay classes over the clerical estate, and their resolution to keep the upper hand. So the reaction, when it comes in 1539, in 1553, is limited in the nature of things. Mary herself flinches before the question of the abbey lands. The poorer classes are at least Catholic in sympathy, and both upper and middle classes will sometimes profess repentance, but they will not disgorge. For all interests were committed to the main work of Henry VIII. Edward's doctrinal changes and practical misrule made men willing to return to the older faith; but at the restoration of religious property and priestly power they stopped. Rome was finally rejected because she never forgot a claim or relinquished a possession that had once been hers. The lay power in the State—this, and not reformed doctrine, or liberty of conscience, or a vernacular prayer-book, or Catholic antiquity—was the ultimate social principle of the struggle. These other ideas had their place; but they all rested upon that of mastery—who is to rule? Church and State.

The new position of the Church was seen in the emphasised, half-spiritual dependence of the bishops on the Crown, in the attempt to treat them as royal nominees appointed on good behaviour, during the sovereign's lifetime, and so bound to sue out new commissions at his death, ordained, translated, and deposed at his will.

The same appears in the treatment of the lower clergy, in the pulpit-tuning of Cromwell's *régime*, in the wholesale revocation of preaching licences, in the destruction of the monastic life. Again, in the fine of 1531, in the transfer of annates from the Pope to the king, and in the general Church plunder of these years—perhaps equal to £4,000,000 in modern value—the clergy paid a direct compulsory tribute. It was no "amicable loan" or "benevolence"; it was the submission to the altered balance of power.

Lastly, a regal papacy was evolved out of a royal supremacy. The "headship" clause of 1531, the articles of 1532 on Church legislation, the Restraint of Appeals in 1533, the Act of

The Royal Supremacy.

Supreme Head, together with the Acts of Succession and Treason in 1534, and the king's commission to revise canon law in 1536, give us the stages of this development. "For subordinate purposes, such as dispensations and faculties, Henry allowed Cranmer as Primate to hold a quasi-legatine authority under himself in Chancery, but in all such matters he was the fountain both of power and justice; and by appointing Cromwell as Vicar-General, with authority and precedence over all prelates and nobles, he exactly reproduced the Pope's exercise of direct powers through a Legate a Latere." In the same way it is by royal letters patent that the English Bible is printed, and the new bishoprics[1] created, in 1539. Even the theological training of the people is undertaken by the king, who approves or dictates the "Institution" and "Erudition" "of a Christian Man" in 1537 and 1543: "for the King's Majesty hath the care of his subjects' souls as well as of their bodies."

The last twenty years of Henry's reign fall into two periods: one of anti-clerical, anti-Roman movement from 1529–39; one of seeming Catholic reaction (1539–47). It will be necessary to summarise the history of Church and State during these years, noting the central interest in the struggle of clergy and laity, and then perhaps the changes of the time will find their best illustration in the history of religious usages.

The Anti-Roman Movement.

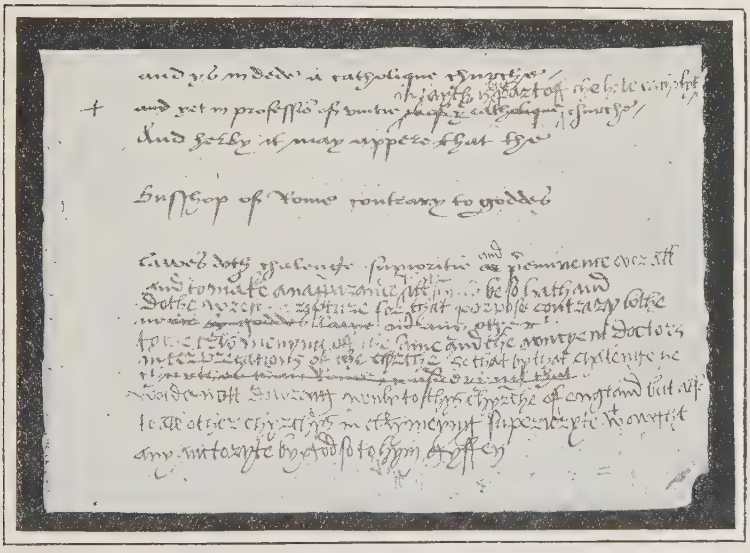
First, in 1529 (November 3), a new era begins with the Reformation Parliament. In the same year the Probate Act, the Mortuaries Act, and the Pluralities Act are passed into law, receiving the royal assent December 17th, in spite of the opposition of Fisher to the two former, by which some of the fees paid to the clergy were "revised." On November 30th, 1530, Wolsey dies at Leicester Abbey, and in December of the same year the whole body of the clergy are declared to be involved in his præmunire.

On January 16th, 1531, the king's pardon is granted to the province of Canterbury on a fine of £100,000; on February 7–11th, the article of Royal Supremacy is proposed in Convocation, amended by Warham's rider, "as far as Christ's law alloweth," and unanimously adopted. On May

[1] Westminster, Oseney (Oxford), Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, Peterborough. A Bull for erecting six new bishoprics had been obtained from Rome in 1532.

4th the Province of York buys the pardon for £18,000, and the same submission to Henry's protectorate; but next year the attack is renewed in Parliament.

In the legislation of 1532 Benefit of Clergy is limited to the higher orders ("sub-deacon at least"), and a supplication is presented against clerical legislation by the ordinaries (March 18). On April 30th the Papal authority is first distinctly touched in the Act for Restraint of Annates, which, however, is not even conditionally ratified till July 9th, 1533,



PAGE FROM "THE INSTITUTION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN," SHOWING CORRECTIONS BY HENRY VIII. (MS. Cleop. E. v.).

two days before the Papal decision against the divorce, but is kept in reserve and held over the Court of Rome to "compel them to hear reason."

On August 23rd Warham's death enables the king to place a creature of his own, Thomas Cranmer, in the primacy, and to obtain from the chief of his clergy a formal sentence of divorce from Catherine, and of sanction for his new marriage with Anne (May 23–June 1, 1533).

So far there had been no formal breach with Rome, but only with the clerical ascendancy in the State—even the

Annates Bill had not yet been confirmed; but in June, 1533, the king received certain news of the impending Papal decision, given on July 11th against the divorce. Accordingly he appealed from the Pope to a General Council (June 29) and summoned Parliament for the session of 1533–4 to pass the Restraint of Appeals, the Restraint of Annates, and the Act against Dispensations and Peter's Pence. This, with the submission[1] of the clergy to a State revision of the canon law, and the Act of Succession, completed the rough work of the Judicial revolution. What followed was the result of the four anti-Roman and the nine anti-clerical Acts of the past five years. The meaning of the whole movement, "to make this realm of England an empire governed by one lord," was gathered up in the Act of the King's Supreme Headship (November 3, 1534), and in the proclamation of the new title (January 15, 1535). The Primate passed from a Legate of the Apostolic See into a Metropolitan; the new State authority over Church law was expressed in the commission of thirty-two actually appointed for the revision of canons in 1536, and the several great Acts of Spoliation completed the destructive work. For before the end of 1534 the annates, now definitely taken from the Pope, were given to the Crown, and the suppression of the smaller monasteries in 1536, and of the greater in 1539, provided the sinews of war for later struggles.

THE suppression of religious houses in England was not effected by one act of legislation, nor accomplished at one time.

[1] The exact share of Convocation in the work of the Reformation Parliament is hard to fix. Latimer says in a sermon (June 6, 1536), preached before Convocation: "What have ye done these seven years, that England hath been the better of a hair? Two things only: one, that ye burned a dead man; the other, that ye went about to burn one being alive." Yet, on the other hand, it was maintained (*cf.* Fuller, V., 188) that "nothing was done in the Reformation but what was asked by Convocation, or grounded on some act of theirs precedent," and the list of measures taken in Convocation gives us: (1), in 1534, a declaration that the Bishop of Rome hath no greater authority in England than any other foreign bishop, and a Petition for an authorised English Bible; (2), in 1536, a complaint of forty-nine popular errors and the passing of Ten Articles of Religion "to stablish Christian quietness"; (3), in 1539, the Six Articles approved; (4), in 1542, the "First Book of Homilies" introduced and authorised; (5), in 1543, the "Erudition" confirmed; (6), in 1544, the English Litany authorised.

Several events led up to, and prepared the way for, the first Act of Parliament by which the lesser monastic establishments were dissolved. Rightly or wrongly, the general body of conventual ecclesiastics were regarded as against Henry in his quarrel with Rome, and their convents were described as so many "garrisons of the Pope" in England. In the matter of his divorce from Katherine, too, the king had reason for thinking that some of the religious bodies were in practical

F. A. GASQUET. The Dissolution of the Monasteries.

CHAPEL NEAR LYMPNE, KENT.

[*In which the "Holy Maid" prophesied.*]

sympathy with the queen and opposed to his wishes. The Friars Observant—the strictest and most respected branch of the Franciscan Order—were the first to experience the resentment of Henry. Two of these friars were implicated with the "Holy Maid of Kent," and suffered with her at Tyburn on 20th April, 1534. Two others, Friars Peto and Elstow, had, in their church at Greenwich and in the royal presence, boldly attacked his marriage with Anne. By the early summer of 1534, Parliament, under the skilful management of Cromwell, had proved itself so pliable to Henry's will

The Friars Observant.

that he was able to proceed against the Greenwich friars. They were called upon to profess their adherence to the royal supremacy, to reject Papal authority, and to take an oath of allegiance to Queen Anne. Numerous attempts were made to bend these friars to the Royal will, but in vain; and the suppression of the entire Order of Observants followed quickly upon their refusal of the articles proposed by the king's officials. Before the end of August, 1534, the seven houses of English Observant Friars had been emptied of their members, and about two hundred were thrown into prison.

The Carthusians.

Before the final dispersion of the Franciscan Observants the Crown had commenced its conflict with the Carthusian Order. These secluded religious had taken no active part in the thorny questions which surrounded the divorce, but yet their influence, which, owing to the undoubted sanctity of their lives, was considerable, was unquestionably exercised against Henry's rejection of Papal supremacy. In the spring of 1534, therefore, the troubles of the monks of the London Charterhouse commenced. The king was by this time fully committed to the breach with Rome, and had already made up his mind to override all opposition to this determination. The London Carthusians had the highest reputation for strictness of life, whilst a fearless superior, Prior John Houghton, presided over them. Chauncy, one of his subjects, says: "He was admired and sought after by all, and by his community was most beloved and esteemed." Early in April, 1534, the royal officials visited the monastery and demanded the signatures of the fathers to the oath of succession. First at a private interview and then publicly in Chapter, Houghton refused, saying "he could not understand how it was possible that a marriage ratified by the Church and so long unquestioned could be undone." To this view the whole community adhered.

Prior Houghton and Humfrey Middlemore, the procurator of the convent, were quickly committed to the Tower; there they remained for some weeks. Then, persuaded by the arguments of some who visited them, they consented to take the oath "as far as it was lawful." Six months later, on January 15th, 1535, the new title of "Supreme Head" was, by decree of Council, incorporated in the king's style, and in April Prior Houghton, Robert Laurence, the prior of the

Charterhouse of Beauvale, and Augustine Webster, prior of Axholme, in Lincolnshire, anticipated the coming of the Royal Commissioners, and in a personal interview with Cromwell, declared that they could never take the required oath. They were forthwith sent once more to the Tower, and on the 28th of April were indicted for that they "did, on the 26th April, 27 Henry VIII., at the Tower of London . . . openly declare

THE CARTHUSIANS IN PRISON.
(*From an old print.*)

and say, 'the king, our sovereign lord, is not supreme head in earth of the Church of England.'" They were found guilty of this new form of verbal treason, and executed at Tyburn on the 4th of May of this same year, 1535. Over the gateway of the Charterhouse in London the arm of Prior Houghton was fixed as a warning to his brethren. A week or two later three more were lodged in prison, where, as the historian Stow relates, they "first stood in prison upright chained from the neck to

the arms, and their legs fettered with locks and chains, by the space of thirteen days," when they were executed.

For two years the rest of the community were kept with great strictness in their house, whilst every effort was made to induce them to comply with Henry's demand. Most of them continued unshaken in their determination, and in May, 1536, those who held out were sent to other houses. At length, in May, 1537, the Commissioners attended at the Charterhouse to demand the oath. Twenty took it, but ten still resolutely refused and were carried off to prison, where, in a few weeks, as Stow says, nine of their number died "with stink and miserably smothered." The tenth lingered on in prison till 4th August, 1540, when he was hanged at Tyburn. The twenty members who had taken the oath on the promise of a pension, surrendered their house to the king. They continued, however, to live there until the 15th of November, 1539, when they were forcibly expelled, the monastic buildings being subsequently granted out as a place to store royal tents and engines of war.

The General Visitation.

Meantime, preparations were being pushed on for a measure of more general suppression of religious houses. By the middle of 1534 Commissioners were at work in all parts of England tendering the new oath of supremacy, which, in the minds of king and minister, was to be accounted the touchstone of loyalty and religion. Lord Herbert states that the scheme for the dissolution of monasteries was discussed at a meeting of the Council, where it met with considerable opposition. The disapproval of the measure must have convinced the king of the need of caution. In the authority to visit all monasteries formerly subject to the Pope, which Parliament had bestowed upon the king two years previously, Henry, or more probably Cromwell, was not slow to recognise a valuable aid to attain the desired end. A general visitation of all religious houses was consequently determined upon. The chief visitors—Legh, Layton, Ap Rice, London, and Bedyll—were armed with the most complete authority, and their own letters are sufficient evidence that they fully understood that the purpose of the visitation was to find a suitable pretext for suppression, or by their vexatious injunctions to compel surrender. The visitors passed very rapidly from place to place

in the autumn of 1535 and till the meeting of Parliament in February, 1536. The reports, or *compertes* as they were called, which the agents furnished to Cromwell, seem to show that by no means all the monastic houses had been inspected. Sufficient had, however, been done to serve the royal purpose, and, true or false, their tales were used to induce Parliament to suppress the lesser religious establishments and to hand over their possessions to the king.

The *comperta* or *compertes*, together with the various letters

Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill, W.

THE CLOISTERS, CHARTERHOUSE, LONDON.

written by the visitors whilst on their rounds, are the chief grounds of accusation against the character of the monks. It should in fairness be borne in mind that they do not profess to be more than reports, and there is no evidence of any investigation; whilst, as Mr. Gairdner, the historian of this period, says, "considering the rapidity with which the work was done, the investigations could hardly have been very judicially conducted." It may be admitted that the summary of what was alleged against the moral state of many religious

houses, even, be it remembered, some of the greatest in the kingdom, presents a black enough picture. Still it should be remembered that the whole of the charges rests upon the worth of the visitors' word alone.

The Smaller Houses Dissolved.

In March, 1536, Parliament passed the Act by which the smaller monasteries were dissolved. The preamble of the measure itself contains practically all that is known of its origin and of the motives which induced the House to pass it. From this it would seem that the Bill was promoted by the Crown, and was accepted on the assurance of the king that evil lives were being led in religious houses where the number of inmates was less than twelve. Of this, says the preamble, Henry had "knowledge . . . as well by the *compertes* of his late visitation as by sundry credible informations." And as a further reason, it was stated that the religious in the smaller monasteries would be useful to swell the ranks of "divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm (wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and observed)," and which "be destitute of such full numbers of religious persons as they ought and may keep." Acting upon this declaration, "the Lords and Commons by a great deliberation finally resolved" that the king should take possession of all monasteries which possessed an income of less than £200 a year; so "that his highness may . . . dispose of them, or any of them, at his will and pleasure to the honour of God and the wealth of this realm."

To deal with the lands, movables, and other possessions which would come into the king's hands by this measure of suppression, Parliament sanctioned the creation of a special court, called the "Court of Augmentations." The institution of this has been regarded by historians as an indication that, at the time of the dissolution of the lesser monasteries, Henry contemplated further and more extensive measures in regard to ecclesiastical property. It was constituted, with Sir Richard Rich as first chancellor and Sir Thomas Pope as treasurer, on the 24th of April, 1536.

As a first step to the taking possession of the monastic possessions, it became necessary to determine which houses came within the pecuniary limit of £200 a year. With this object, the royal commission was directed to some of the leading

men in each county to make a survey of the various houses within the limits of their respective districts; and on the very day when the Court of Augmentations was finally organised, instructions were issued for the guidance of these Commissioners. As regards the religious, the directions were simple. The officer was "to send those that will remain in the religion to other houses with letters to the Governors, and those that wish to go to the world to my lord of Canterbury and the Lord Chancellor." To the latter class "some reasonable reward," according to the distance of the place appointed, was to be given. The superior alone was to have any pension promised to him, and he was to go to the Chancellor of the Augmentations for it. The rest of the instructions were chiefly concerned in the preservation of the property for the king.

ST. ALBANS CHALICE.
(*Trinity College, Oxford.*)

It is somewhat difficult to estimate with any certainty the number of religious houses which passed into the king's hands by the operation of the Act of Dissolution. The authority of Stow, however, is usually relied upon for the statement that "the number of these houses then suppressed were 376, the value of their lands then £32,000 and more by year." Besides this, there was the money received for the spoils of the houses, consisting of money, plate, and jewels sent by the Commissioners into the king's treasury, and the proceeds of the sales of lead, bells, cattle, furniture, and even buildings. These "Robin Hood's pennyworths" are supposed by Lord Herbert to have brought more than £100,000 into the royal purse. Judging by the paltry sums realised by the sales of monastic effects and by the totals acknowledged to have been received by the Augmentation Office officials, this sum would appear altogether too high.

The Numbers Affected.

The number of persons affected by these first systematic suppressions was very considerable. Besides the monks and nuns who were turned out of their houses, and the servants, farm labourers, and others to whom they gave employment and means of subsistence, there must have been a vast

number of men and women whose livelihood more or less depended upon the inmates of the dissolved religious establishments. Putting this latter class altogether on one side, Stow's estimate of "10,000 people, masters and servants, (who) lost their livings by the putting down of these houses at that time," may be taken as fairly correct. From such of the particulars given by the Royal Commissioners as are still extant, it may be roughly calculated that over 2,000 monks and nuns were dispossessed, and that there were between 9,000 and 10,000 people directly dependent on the monasteries dissolved.

It will be readily believed that the work could not have been accomplished without entailing considerable hardship upon many of the inmates thus rendered homeless. Thus, a nun of Arden, Elizabeth Johnson, was allowed a pittance "because she is helpless and deaf, and is said to be over eighty years of age," and William Coventry, of Wombridge Priory, had the sum of £6 8s. 4d. given him on his dismissal, "because he is sick and decrepid"; whilst two nuns of Esholt, in Yorkshire, were said to be disabled by infirmities, and were passed over to the care of their friends.

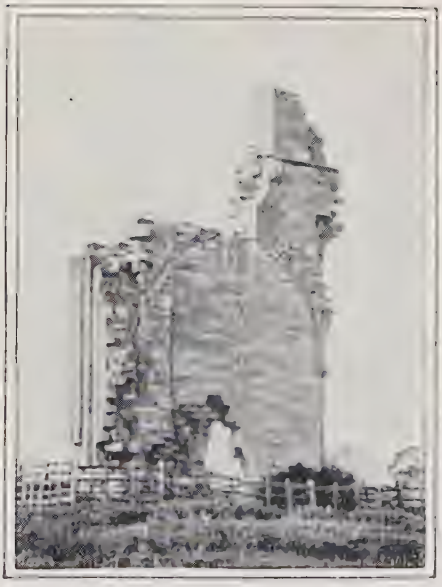
The Effect of the Popular Reaction.

The Northern disturbances in the autumn of 1536 and the spring of the following year (pp. 47–50) somewhat checked the progress of the dissolutions. But once the insurgents had been finally crushed and all fear of domestic danger was over, Henry used the rising as a pretext to effect further suppressions. Hitherto the attainder of a bishop or abbot for treason had not been held by English law to affect the property of the diocese or abbey over which the attainted superior ruled. The king, however, now determined to include the forfeiture of the possessions of the corporation in the punishment awarded to the head for real or supposed treasonable practices, and in this way several large and important religious establishments passed into the royal hands. Thus, upon the executions of the Abbots of Whalley and Sawley in March, 1537, the king's officials, acting upon his express orders, took possession of the houses and property; and in the same way the abbeys of Barlings, Jervaulx, Kirksted, and Woburn, with the priory of Bridlington, were brought into the king's hands under the law of attainder; whilst by threats and judicious management, the Earl of Sussex

Kirksted.

Whalley.

Colchester.



Barlings

RUINS OF FOUR FAMOUS ABBEYS.

obtained the surrender of the great abbey of Furness, in Lancashire.

The Friaries Destroyed.

The autumn of 1538, and the first half of the following year, witnessed the destruction of the English friaries. For some reason or other these houses, although they had but small incomes, had not been dealt with under the Act of Parliament dissolving the lesser monasteries. At the time of their fall, the friars were reduced to a state of great poverty, and this may have secured for them a temporary respite. The total number of their establishments in England was about two hundred. Of these the Franciscans had sixty, the Dominicans fifty-three, the Austin friars forty-two, and the Carmelites six-and-thirty. The rest were held by the Trinitarians and other less important bodies of friars. At the time of their destruction, although reduced by various circumstances, the friars numbered probably about eighteen hundred.

From Michaelmas, 1537, to the same date in the following year, the work of dissolving the monastic houses was pushed on vigorously. During that time many of the larger establishments either surrendered to the king, or in some other way passed into his hands. Legally, Henry had a right only to those monasteries with a yearly income of less than £200; but after the failure of the Pilgrimage of Grace, the work of general suppression was actively commenced. It was of course necessary that the surrender of those abbeys which did not come within the operation of the Act of Dissolution should at least appear to be voluntary, and every pressure was brought upon the monks and nuns to induce them to resign their possessions. The secret instructions given to the agents employed were precise: they were to take "the consent of the head and convent by way of their fair surrender under their convent seal to the same. If they shall willingly consent and agree," the Commissioners are directed to promise them pensions and other rewards. But "if they shall find any of the said heads and convents, so appointed to be dissolved, so wilful and obstinate that they will in no wise submit themselves to the King's Majesty," or "resign at the King's wish," the Commissioners are then to take possession of everything, and neither give pensions nor any part of their household goods to "such obstinate and wilful persons. till they shall know further of the King's pleasure."

Voluntary Surrenders.

Meantime, however, whilst the secret instructions to the agents leave no room for doubt as to the royal intentions, by express direction of the rulers, the idea of any general attack upon the monastic system was not only kept in the background, but actually and publicly repudiated by both Henry and his agents. The monasteries stood alone. Singly they were approached with proposals for surrender, with a pittance for their members; or seizure, should they refuse, with poverty and possible punishment. Most of the houses made choice of the former alternative, and in the years 1538 and 1539 surrenders, which can hardly with truth be called voluntary, were obtained. In this way, some 150 monasteries of men and perhaps fifty convents of women passed into the royal possession.

Application of the Endowments.

Early in 1539 it became necessary to obtain approval from Parliament for what had been done. There is evidence to prove that Henry at first thought of pledging himself to devote the appropriated property to public purposes. A draft of a projected Act in the king's writing suggests that the wealth of the religious corporations might with advantage "be turned to better use (as hereafter shall follow), whereby God's Word might the better be set forth, children brought up in learning, clerics nourished in the universities, old servants decayed have livings, almshouses for poor folk to be sustained in, readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin to have good stipends, daily alms to be administered, mending of highways, exhibitions for ministers of the Church," and considerable additions made to the existing bishoprics (p. 77). Whatever inducements were put before the Parliament to win its consent to the king's proposals, nothing in the nature of public benefits is suggested in the Act itself, which for the second time dealt with the monastic property. It was introduced to the House on the 13th of May, 1539, and six days later became law. In no sense can this measure be considered properly as one dissolving or suppressing any religious houses. Its object was to secure to the king the property of such monasteries as had "by any means come into his hands by supersession, dissolution, or surrender since the 4th of February," 1536. Unlike the Act of 1536, this one does not allege any reasons, but simply states that "sundry abbots, priors, abbesses, prioresses, and other ecclesiastical governors and governesses of divers monasteries . . . of their own free and voluntary minds,

good wills and assents, without constraint, co-action, or compulsion of any manner of person or persons," have resigned their possessions into the king's hands. These, therefore, Henry and his heirs are to hold for ever, and this permission was to extend to all houses subsequently surrendered or dissolved.

The Final Stages.

By the autumn of 1539 comparatively few religious houses still remained in the possession of the monks. Monastic buildings in county after county were laid desolate by the royal agents, and the religious one after another expelled from their homes. Where resistance was offered, the ready process of attainder, with its accompanying confiscation, which, as Hallam says, "against every form of received law," followed the treason, supposed or real, of the head of the corporation, was at hand to effect what threats or promises had been unable to accomplish. Under the working of this mysterious law of attainder, the abbots of the three great Benedictine houses of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading were executed, and their possessions seized for the Crown. From notes in Cromwell's own hand it seems clear that some time between the passing of the Act regarding the monasteries in April, 1539, and September in the same year, these abbots must have been sounded, and it had been found that compliance was not to be expected from them. Immediate action was taken; on the 19th of this latter month the royal agents appeared at Glastonbury, and having cross-examined the abbot, Richard Whiting, and ransacked his apartments for compromising documents, they sent him up to prison in the Tower of London. Immediately they proceeded to "despatch" the monks "with as much celerity" as possible, and by October 24th, whilst Abbot Whiting remained still untried in the Tower, the rich plate of the abbey was handed into the royal treasury among the possessions of "attainted persons and places." Before the abbot left his prison his case was virtually concluded, and Cromwell could note: "Item: The Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston and also executed there." The Church historian Collier is probably correct when he writes of the three abbots: "To reach them . . . the oath of supremacy was offered, and upon their refusal they were condemned for high treason."

The result of the trial at Wells was, upon Cromwell's own showing, a foregone conclusion, and the abbot's execution at

Glastonbury, upon Tor Hill, with two of his monks, on November 15th, 1539, finally placed the rich possessions of the abbey at the king's disposal. On the same day Hugh Cook, the Abbot of Reading, and two priests suffered death in front of the abbey gateway; whilst a fortnight later, on the 1st of December, 1539, Thomas Marshall, or Beche, the last Abbot of Colchester, was likewise executed. Within six weeks of his death the monastic buildings of St. John's Abbey had been dismantled, and workmen were busy stripping the lead from the roof of

THE ABBEY GATE AT READING.
(From a drawing of 1773 by P. Sandby, R.A.)

the church, melting it into pigs with the carved woodwork of the choir, and breaking up the bells that the metal might be conveyed away in barrels for sale.

By the beginning of 1540 the work of suppressing the religious houses in England was practically over. Between 1538 and 1540 probably about 250 of the greater houses of men and women had passed into the king's possession. It has been estimated, from an examination of available sources of information, that the entire number of monks, canons, friars, and nuns dispossessed from first to last was probably in excess of eight thousand, whilst there must have

been at least ten times that number of people more or less dependent upon them.

Fate of the Inmates.

Most, but by no means all, of the disbanded religious obtained some kind of pension. As regards the smaller houses, which alone had been dissolved by Act of Parliament, only the superior received any annuity. The friars, as a rule, obtained nothing, and as regards the rest of the monks and nuns, only such as resigned their houses in compliance with the royal wishes were promised annual pittances. Those who resisted or objected obtained nothing. Thus no monk at monasteries like Kirksted, Jervaulx, or Whalley in the north, or Glastonbury, Reading, Colchester, or Woburn in the south, obtained anything. Moreover, even a surrender does not always appear to have afforded any sure title to such a payment. Thus, to take an example, Furness Abbey was dissolved, apparently without the monks having obtained any promise of a pension. On dismissal from their cloister each received forty shillings, and to three, "who were sick and impotent," an extra twenty shillings was given. The following year the late abbot was provided with the profits of a rectory, which formerly belonged to his house: but, as far as appears, none of the thirty monks who were living at Furness at the surrender ever obtained anything for their somewhat tardy compliance with Henry's desires.

Financial Results.

It is not easy to determine with anything like accuracy the value of the property which passed into the royal possession by the dissolutions. Speed has put the total annual value of the lands and benefices at £171,312 4s. 3¼d., and a modern calculation places it at £200,000 in round numbers. The existing accounts, however, show that Henry never derived anything like so large a benefit from the spoliation. Gratuitous grants, speedy sales of lands, and other such things, quickly reduced the capital value of the prize, so that in no single year did the income from the confiscated property exceed £45,000.

The worth of the gold and silver plate received by the treasurer, and estimated by him at the melting price, was more than £85,000, or very nearly a million sterling of our money. Of the other spoils some of the richest were preserved and forwarded to London for the king's use; whilst the greater part were sold for what the things would fetch at the

small auctions held all over the country in the cloisters or chapter-houses of the deserted monasteries. In round figures the money received by the king in this way from 1536 till his death was some £1,423,500, or between fourteen and fifteen millions sterling of the present money. Besides this sum, however, there was the worth of the vestments and other ecclesiastical furniture reserved for the king's use, and, what Cromwell evidently prized more than the rich plate itself, the countless precious stones and jewels from all the churches and shrines of the English monasteries.

CHARLES RAYMOND BEAZLEY. The Severance and the Reaction.

Out of the vast plunder obtained by the Dissolution there was some attempt made to refit the Church for the new time. First in 1534, twenty-six suffragan sees were indicated;[1] then, after the final monastic dissolution of 1539, eighteen new dioceses were promised; at last six were founded—Chester, Peterborough, Gloucester, Oxford, Bristol, and Westminster. Out of Wolsey's benefactions Cardinal College alone emerged from the wreck with diminished resources and the glory of a royal re-creation. To the end of his life, after his first taste of spoil in 1529, Henry's needs and avarice seemed to grow together. In 1545, less than six years after the last of the religious houses had been seized, the endowments of the universities, of all colleges of priests, and of all the chantries and guilds were put at the Crown's mercy: commissioners were appointed to visit them, and only the king's death seems to have delayed their action till the new reign. As most of the landed spoil fell to the nobles and gentry, and most of the movables soon passed out of Henry's coffers, after meeting the calls of the moment, every great lay interest was thus united in the attack on Church property, which continued to the death of Edward VI.

But it would be a mistake to treat the whole period from 1529 to 1553 as on a level. For the first ten years of the

[1] Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guildford, Taunton, Southampton, Shaftesbury, Melton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penrith, Bridgwater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, St. Germans (in Cornwall), and the Isle of Wight, with two others—in place of the Roman Bishops "in partibus." Seven were appointed, but the movement soon dropped, to be revived in the Victorian era.

The Reaction.

revolution, as we have seen, the work is mainly destructive; for the next ten there is a distinct movement towards reconstruction, ending in the Prayer-Book of 1549. After the final statute of 1537 had been passed against the Pope's authority, embodying and supplementing all former Acts, and after the Great, or approved, English Bible had been published in 1539, the movement towards foreign Protestantism is roughly checked. The German and Lutheran marriage with Anne of Cleves is annulled; Cromwell, who had hoped by this to "bring the king to such a pass that he should not be able to resist," is thrown as a sop to the conservative or Catholic party whom he had ridden so hard, and the Act of Six Articles reaffirms transubstantiation, the celibacy of the clergy, the obligation of vows of chastity, and auricular confession—adding, more cautiously, that communion in both kinds was not necessary, and that private masses were both lawful and useful.

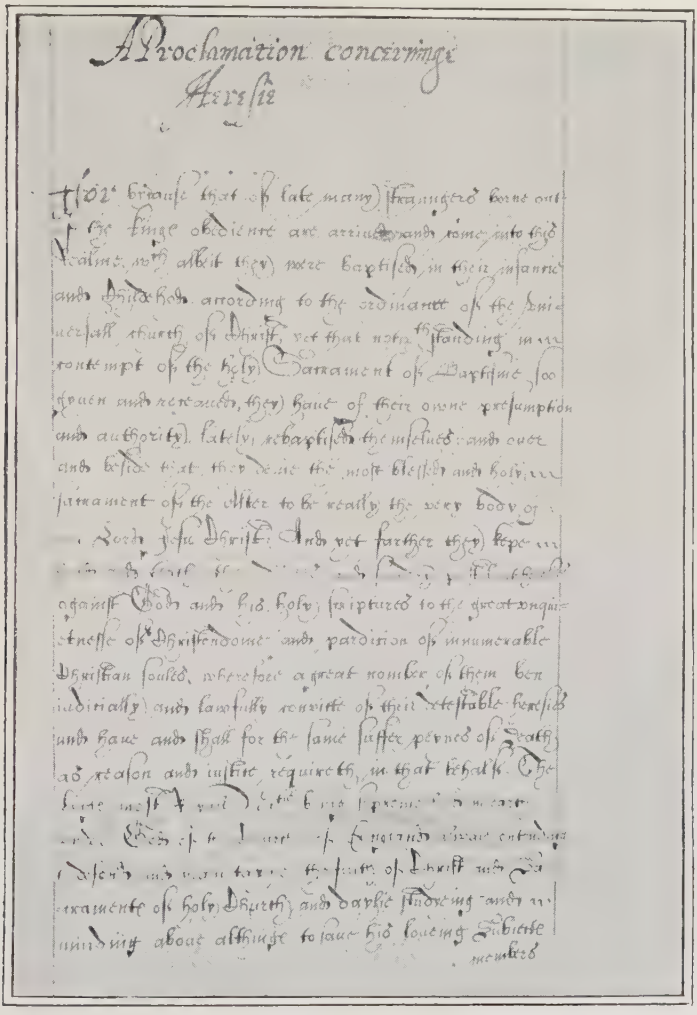
The English Bible.

The Howard marriage (July 28, 1540) seemed to bind the king to the reaction as the Bullen and Seymour marriages of 1533 and 1536 had bound him to the revolution; but even as early as 1536 Henry's proclamation ordering the English Bible, "of the largest volume," to be set up in churches, shows his dislike of doctrinal change and of Protestant agitation. "The Scriptures are not to be read at the time of the mass, or for disputation or exposition of mysteries therein contained." The unauthorised versions, with their controversial prefaces and notes, are discouraged, and in 1539 superseded by the State revision of Tyndale's translation of 1525 (p. 283); while, in 1542, Edmund Bonner, as Bishop of London, is allowed to forbid "all crowding to read, or commenting on what is read." The more Henry learned of the Lutheran or of the Zwinglian system, the less he liked either.

Anglican Catholicism.

In the same way, the Ten Articles of 1536 are explained in the "Christian Man's Institution" and "Erudition" of 1537–43, which states the Catholic doctrine without change upon baptism, penance, the Eucharist, and justification, but explains the "*right* use of images, honouring of saints, ceremonies and purgatory," denounces many abuses, and defines the "fundamentals of religion," as comprehended in the Bible, the three creeds, and the decrees of the first four Councils —Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

Again, in 1545, Shaxton, ex-Bishop of Sarum, is forced to admit all the disputed points in the medieval sense; in 1540



A Proclamation concerninge Heresie

PROCLAMATION AGAINST ANABAPTISTS (MS. Cleop. E. v.).

Latimer is sent to the Tower; Cranmer about the same time, and again in 1545, is accused of heresy, and, from the time of Cromwell's fall, the party of which he was becoming the

official chief, is clearly in opposition, while the conservatives, under Gardiner, are in power and favour at the Council. For, whatever were the king's personal leanings, doctrinally he sympathises to the end with the highest Churchmanship. Yet the tendency to treat all the Church system as of *political* obligation is found even here; tenets are "charitable," "comfortable," "godly"; ceremonies are "laudable" or "instructive." "In all disputes," says the proclamation of 1544, "recourse must be had to the Catholic Church; . . . therefore all books contrary to the doctrine now and to be set forth are forbidden; . . . but it is to the King, by Scripture, that all power is given of determining causes, of correcting heresies, errors, and sins."

The New Liturgy.

Whatever the truth may be of Henry's supposed[1] conversion in his last illness, the doctrinal position of the earlier time is maintained in all his official acts till the end in 1547, and the English Prayer-Book of 1549 is only the result of Henry's reconstructive policy, which aimed at purifying and popularising the Catholic system, as he finally conceived it. This policy had already given the English people an English Litany in 1544, an English Primer in 1545,[2] with versions of matins and evensong, and parts of other services[3]—and in 1546 had directed Cranmer to "pen a form for the altering of the mass into a communion," just as in 1535 and 1542 the name of the Pope and all "apocryphas, feigned legends, and unscriptural saints," had been "put out of the service-books and calendars, newly castigated and reformed."

In the same spirit, and with the apparent support of the

[1] After his marriage to Catherine Parr, he may have been influenced by her Protestant sympathies. She procured a translation of Erasmus's "Paraphrase," which was afterwards ordered, by Edward's injunctions of 1547, for use by the clergy.

[2] Or Layman's Book of Devotions, the authorised edition, following Marshall's irregular one (1535).

[3] On the English Liturgy of 1544, *cf.* the king's letter to Cranmer, styling it "The Common Prayer of Procession," and adding "that from henceforth general processions be had in all cities, towns, churches, and parishes, with godly prayers and suffrages in our native English tongue." This, with two chapters for daily lessons from the English Bible—one from the New Testament, one from the Old—and with versions of the Lord's Prayer and Ave Maria (translated in 1543), was all the English service authorised up to 1547, though in the preface to the Primer more seems promised, and probably much more was used irregularly in Puritanising parishes.

Church leaders, Henry had steadily pressed for a reliable English Bible. Tyndale's original version of 1525, though its text was largely used in most that followed it, was put out of court by its "glosses" and controversial turns of sense. The achievement of this purpose will be traced in detail later (p. 284).

Thus before 1547 Henry VIII. had completed an English Bible and begun an English Prayer-Book; in 1531 Wynkyn de Worde printed the first collection of English carols, and soon after this Miles Coverdale compiled the first English hymn-book. The use of the vulgar tongue was one of the very few matters that seemed to have really united the sympathies of conservatives and Protestants in Henry's Council. Apparently both parties would have also agreed on some revision of ritual and popular religious custom, but they could not agree where to stop.

Relic Worship Rejected.

Among the superstitions questioned or rejected thus early were pilgrimages and their objects—the relics so vehemently attacked by Colet, Erasmus, and More—the older forms of veneration of images, and of invocation of saints, pardons, indulgences, and the purgatorial abuses. The shrine of St. Thomas the Martyr at Canterbury, as the monument of a priest who successfully defied a king and a Henry, and which for its wealth and fame had become the great English religious spectacle,[1] was plundered and razed, and the saint's name scratched out of the service-books. The king gained twenty-six cartloads of treasure, and the long-deferred present of Pope Paul III.'s excommunication, drawn up in 1535, and suspended out of deference to the French king, as Henry himself had suspended his anti-Papal statutes, till all hope of reunion was passed.

Ceremonies Retained.

By the time of Cranmer's catechism in 1548, pilgrimages had become a memory, with the more extreme abuses of images and purgatory; but nearly the whole of the liturgical ceremonies were kept up to the end of the reign. In the year of Latimer's disgrace, the king bids all his subjects "observe the holy bread and water, creeping to the cross, setting up of lights before the Corpus Christi, bearing of candles, offering of crysomes, and the rest." The attempt of Cranmer's German

[1] *Cf.* Chaucer, Prologue :—

"But chiefely, from every Shire's endé
Of Engelond, to Canterbury they wendé
The holy blissful martyr there to seeké."

friends in 1538 to interfere with these and their related doctrines as superstitions, and the insults of the Protestant "ribalds," provoked the Act of Six Articles, deferred the English service-book, and made Henry maintain every jot of the old ritual to his death. In 1538 "at Hadley, in Suffolk, and Stratford, in Essex," the mass and Te Deum had been regularly said in English, and on August 23rd of the same year, the "rood of the north door in Paul's" was taken down by the king's commandment; yet the English Order of Communion did not appear till 1548. It was a premature beginning. The parish registers, ordered by Cromwell in September, 1538, had greater permanence, but this and the transfer of about one-third of the tithe to laymen, with the new diocesan and suffragan bishoprics, together with the liturgical reforms already noticed, almost complete the list of alterations in the usage of the ordinary Church system under Henry VIII. The monasteries were an overgrowth, and were cut off as such. The normal parish, deanery, archdeaconry, and diocese, it was the avowed aim of the king's policy to strengthen: the normal doctrine and ritual, apart from the questions of power and income, it became his settled purpose to support. The English Church, he insisted, had rejected foreign tyranny and innovations and looked back to the first Christians for its model, but without any dissent from other national Churches, or any shadow of turning from the ancient Catholic faith. For it was an Old Catholic or Anglo-Catholic ideal which satisfied the first Reformers, though it was impatiently discarded by the Protestants, whose slow but steady progress is proved by their irresistible strength at the beginning of the new reign and the new Court favour.

ARTHUR HASSALL. The Balance of Classes Altered.

During Henry VIII.'s reign the tendencies which were visible in his father's lifetime became still more strongly marked and more fully developed. The centre of gravity in the great ship of State permanently shifted. Henry VIII. won and established a dictatorship; he permanently changed the balance between the Church and State and between the Crown and the Estates of the Realm in accordance with the lines laid down by Henry VII.

The clergy, already dependent on the Crown, were forced by circumstances to act in harmony with the will of the king, and offered little or no resistance to the increase of the royal power. But their subservience did not save them from spoliation and loss of political influence. By his destruction of the monastic system Henry threw out of Parliament nearly two-thirds of the spiritual baronage, thus revolutionising the balance of forces in the House of Lords. The Church had been, at the time of the accession of the Tudors, the only power which might have resisted the Crown. But, owing to their loss of popularity, the clergy had been compelled to ally themselves with royalty, and when the breach with Rome came, they found that all possibility of taking up an independent attitude was gone. At the same time, they had in no small measure contributed to the growth of the monarchical idea. For royalty had, in great measure through the action of the clergy themselves, become invested with a spiritual influence in the minds of the people, and this remained after the king had dismissed his spiritual advisers and changed his religious principles. The royal supremacy was established, and with the adoption by Henry VIII. of an ecclesiastical headship a gradual change can be observed coming over the composition of the ecclesiastical body itself. After the breach with Rome the clergy and bishops are often married men, taken generally from the middle classes, with whom they sympathise and by whom they are influenced. Thus a complete revolution was effected in the condition and status of the clergy. The ecclesiastical powers hitherto in the hands of the Pope were transferred to the Crown, the episcopal office became for a time subordinate to the king, and the Church, from being an independent rival, sank into a position of subservience from which she was unable to raise herself for many years to come. At the beginning of Henry's reign the number of spiritual peers was forty-nine; after the dissolution of the monasteries it fell to twenty-six.

The Old Nobility

But the growth of the royal supremacy was aided more by the altered position of the nobles than by any other single circumstance. Henry VIII. found no strong baronage to thwart him. The policy of proscription had destroyed all that was dangerous in the old nobility. During the Middle Ages the

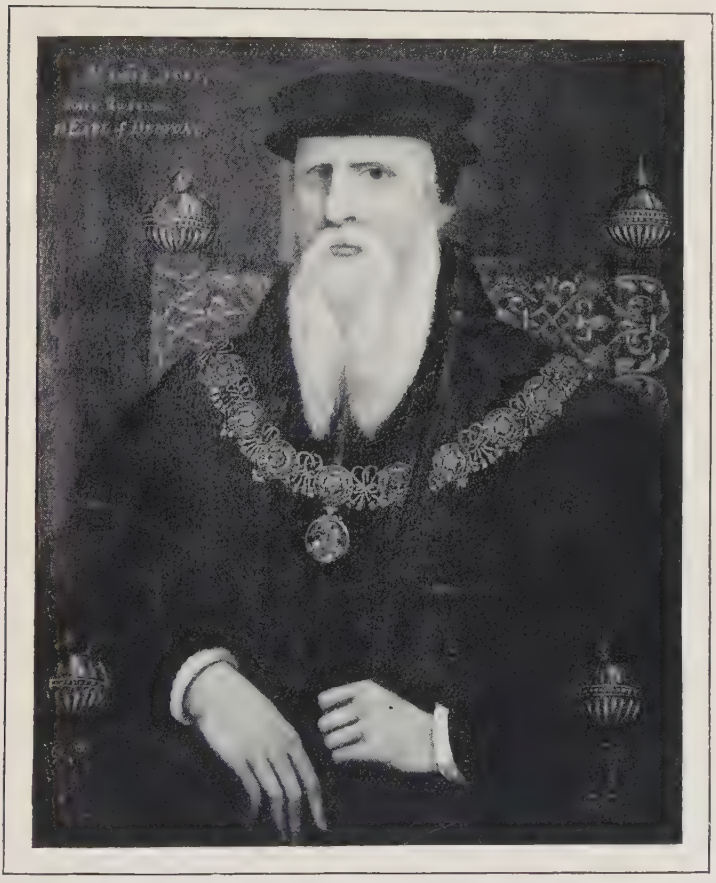
barons had borne the brunt of the conflict for English liberty, and their impotence after the Wars of the Roses cleared the way for the assertion of the monarchical principle. The nation, in its anxiety for order and good government, was content to leave the upper classes at the mercy of the king; and, taking advantage of this prevailing sentiment, Henry VII. had pursued a policy of levelling class privileges. His Government, carried on for the most part by capable officials whom he could trust, did not necessarily exclude the old nobles from office, but they were placed on the same level as the other officials, and when Henry VIII. ascended the throne, the power of the old nobles had practically passed away.

The New Nobility.

Henry VII.'s unbending rule had shown the remnant of the old feudal nobility the folly of entering upon rebellion, and his policy of founding a new race of nobles was adopted and developed with characteristic energy by his son. And the history of this policy of replacing the old by a new race of nobles affords valuable illustrations of the changes taking place in social life. Throughout his reign Henry VIII. had numerous opportunities, which he readily seized, of creating a new nobility, absolutely dependent on himself. The powers of the Crown were enormous; its patronage and revenues were immense. The king had at his own immediate disposal "the stewardships of forests, manors, chaces, castles, fisheries, and mines; the collectorships of customs in various ports; appointments of ambassadors, commissions in the army and navy." By confiscations and by the attainders of the de la Poles, the Salisburys, the Empsons, and the Dudleys, the Crown lands, already increased by the rebellions in Henry VII.'s reign, were vastly augmented, and numerous lucrative posts connected with the royal estates could be bestowed on the king's favourites. Moreover, with the fall of the monasteries an enormous amount of land lay at the disposal of the Crown, and the greater part of it was handed over to Henry's courtiers, who formed a new Court nobility, owing its rise entirely to the king's favour, and disinclined, as long as Henry lived, to show any political energy.

The exclusive road to promotion in the earlier portion of the reign may be said to have lain in personal service to the king. It has been accurately stated that "the Howards,

the Brandons, the Jerninghams, the Sidneys, the Plantagenets, the Sherbornes, the Fitzwilliams, the Marneys were or had all been Squires or Knights of the Body or Gentlemen of the Chamber." Similarly, all the important offices



JOHN RUSSELL, FIRST EARL OF BEDFORD.

(By permission, from the painting in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Bedford.)

in the departments of the State and in the army and navy were filled by men who had been in personal attendance on the king, who were the servants of the Crown, and as keenly interested in the extension of the royal prerogative as

was the king himself. An aristocracy was thus in part created of a different kind from the old feudal aristocracy and animated with different sentiments. The latter was taken from the upper ranks of society; it owed its position, in great measure, to vast territorial possessions, it kept a jealous watch over the powers of the Crown, it acted as a check upon the undue extension of its prerogatives. The former was taken from a lower class; it owed its elevation to personal services rendered to the king, to whom it was completely subservient. It was thus wholly unlike the old haughty nobility, "with its feudal grandeur and its sumptuous living." A personal nobility, "indebted for their rank, their emoluments, their importance, and their employment to their personal services about the king—enriched by wardships, by marriages, by forfeitures, by stewardships in the royal demesnes, continually augmented by impeachments of the older houses, owed everything to the king."

Rise of the Middle Classes.

As time went on, the ranks of the nobility were opened to merchants, lawyers, borough magistrates, and manufacturers—men who, risen from small fortunes, had been enriched by the confiscation of the monastic property. And thus it came about that from the ranks of the courtiers and from the middle classes arose a nobility which owed its position to wealth or to the favour of the king—a nobility which was for many years utterly powerless to check the absolutism of the Crown.

The rise and influence of the middle classes in the place of the gentry of race was in itself a circumstance which contributed to the change in the balance of the Constitution. It was no longer race, but wealth, that made the gentleman. Trade owed much to the Tudor kings. Henry VII. had encouraged the commercial classes; Henry VIII. continued this policy. The old gentry, already impoverished by the civil wars, were, to a great extent, ruined by the extravagance of the Court of Henry VIII. They fell into debt, pawned their estates, and were succeeded by their tenants, or by the opulent merchant class, which derived much of its new importance from the discovery of the New World, from the rapid extension of commerce, and from the increasing taste for luxury.

BRASS OF SIR THOMAS BOLEYN.
(*Hever, Kent*, 1538.)

The New Men and the Land.

The old nobles and gentry being weak, and no longer possessed of riches or of political influence, the middle classes, with their ever-increasing wealth and importance, naturally could not remain stationary. Their impelling spirit may be described as a restless propensity towards material progress which was determined at all costs to prevail. These new men "scented out needy heirs," they "purchased wards of noble birth" and married them to their sons and daughters. They looked upon farming as a commercial speculation; their one object was to wring from the land the highest possible return. Henceforward men took rank and exercised authority according to the amount of their incomes, while in consequence of this new state of things the land changed hands rapidly, and rich merchants possessed themselves of estates. The ruin and spoliation of the feudal families and of the monastic orders, in a similar, though in a less degree, benefited also the yeomen. The improved methods of cultivation and enclosures enabled the farmers to work their land in a profitable manner, and the vigorous parochial system of the Tudors bears evidence of the active part taken by the yeomen in public business. The prosperity and number of the small landowners is a marked feature of rural England in Tudor times; and in Henry VIII.'s reign the importance of the yeoman class was clearly recognised. With the yeomen farmers and labourers the pushing and covetous race of new landlords were by no means so popular as the old proprietors had been. Still, the growth of the new squirearchy in the sixteenth century did not affect the political equilibrium by doing away with the "yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasantry." Both subsisted and flourished side by side.

The Crown Strengthened.

All these changes told in favour of the establishment of a strong monarchical power. The country required a firm hand to guide her through a religious as well as an agrarian revolution. Parliament was ready to carry out the king's wishes, even at the risk of being accused of subservience. Engrossed in the pursuit of wealth, and as yet unaccustomed to enforce constitutional restraints upon a sovereign, the Commons, now brought face to face with the power of the Crown, made no attempt to step into the position vacated by the old feudal

nobility. They were satisfied with Henry's deference to their advice whenever it agreed with his own wishes, and their subservience contributed to complete the change in the balance of the Constitution. The Crown was, in effect, absolute. The spirit of feudalism had given way to the mercantile spirit. The various parts of society were linked together by a new principle; the whole social life of the nation was affected. The breach with Rome coincided in point of time with the social and economic changes, and by aiding in the successful assertion of the absolutist principle rendered the position of the Crown enormously strong, and enabled it to dominate all the remaining political forces in the State. There was no proud baronage to thwart the king; the clergy were defenceless against his hostility, and the higher ranks were regarded with a jealous eye by the middle classes; while the Commons, thrown out of working order by the absence of political energy in the House of Lords, busied with trade, and dreading a return of discord, were favoured and conciliated. The labourers hoped to gain more from the sovereign than from their extortionate landlords. Every class looked to the king, and the royal power was accordingly exalted.

Society Modernised.

As a result of all these changes, English society in Henry VIII.'s reign begins to assume a modern form. The English aristocracy has entirely changed. The development of wealth as a class-test was superseding the old distinctions of birth, and the highest elements of society became ready to receive into their midst and to assimilate the lower elements. The "anarchical autonomy of feudalism" was a thing of the past, its place was being taken by the unity of the State and the authority of law, and a revolution was being carried out affecting every class in the country.

The variations in the balance of forces in the State during the last hundred years had been excessive. At one time the pendulum had swung to the side of the nobles, now it swung to that of the king. Gradually the new nobles would assert their independence, and the Commons would make good their position. In this way a natural counterpoise would be again set up against the overweening power of the Crown, and the political balance would be more fairly adjusted.

C. W. C. OMAN. The Art of War.

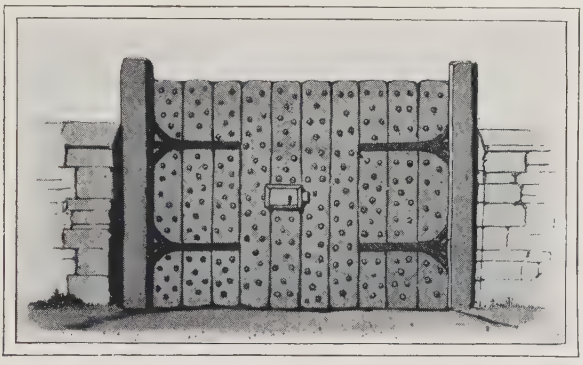
In the general history of the art of war, the period which commences with the great French invasion of Italy under Charles VIII. and ends with the peace of Cateau Cambresis (1493–1559), is of the highest importance, comprising within it the entire transition from medieval to modern forms of warfare. But in England these years are of far less note, the corresponding change on this side of the Channel having come a full generation later. On the Continent the period ends with the complete supremacy in war of disciplined standing armies, in the discredit of the old belief in heavy armour, and in the triumph of fire-arms, the musket being always combined with the pike as the weapon of infantry. In England, as we shall see, no approach to a standing army had been made—indeed, such a thing never existed till the "New Model" Army of 1645 came into being. Moreover, the national arms were still the lance for the horseman and the bow and bill for the footman. All through the days of Henry VIII. we still hear of the old division into "spears" and "bows," which had been the rule in the wars of Henry V. in France, and the strife of the Two Roses.

The first half of the sixteenth century was neither a very notable nor a very glorious epoch in English military history. The two fights of Flodden and Pinkie and the "Battle of the Spurs" are the only general engagements which it can show. Henry VIII., it is true, made three serious invasions of France, but his efforts were singularly unfruitful. The captures of Tournay and Boulogne (pp. 2, 6) were not very striking or interesting feats of arms, and the general impression made by these campaigns on the reader is creditable neither to the leaders nor the led. No disasters, it is true, were suffered: but, on the other hand, the invaders, who started with the idea of emulating the deeds of Crécy and Agincourt, came home with no laurels to show. They barely penetrated the outermost defences of France, instead of being able to strike deep into the land and sweep all before them as their ancestors had done. Yet the armies of Henry VIII. were not smaller and were far better equipped than those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nor can we explain their failures merely by the increased strength of the French monarchy and its

adoption of the use of a standing army. It seems as if something were lacking in the English armies of the day, and a short examination soon shows what it was.

Strength of the Old System.

The strength of the old armies of Edward III. or Henry V. lay in the close union between the leaders and the led. Though these forces had been raised, not on feudal principles, but on the system of "indentures" between the king and his knights and nobles (Vol. II., pp. 448, 453), yet the rank and file had always been the personal followers and retainers of the chiefs. The men whom a Salisbury or a Warwick brought to the royal host were their own tenants or household men, bound to their masters



GATES OF BOULOGNE, CAPTURED UNDER HENRY VIII.
(*By permission of the Kent Archæological Society.*)

by every tie of local loyalty and personal attachment. As long as the old medieval baronage existed, it could always count on the obedience and devotion of its tenantry. The men who wore their master's badge on sleeve and helm, who looked to him for maintenance in peace, and followed him as their born leader in war, were a very trustworthy force. They were not prone to mutiny or desertion, because disobedience to their lord in the field meant social ruin at home. All the treachery of the Wars of the Roses was on the part of the baronage against their kings, not on the part of the retainers against their lords.

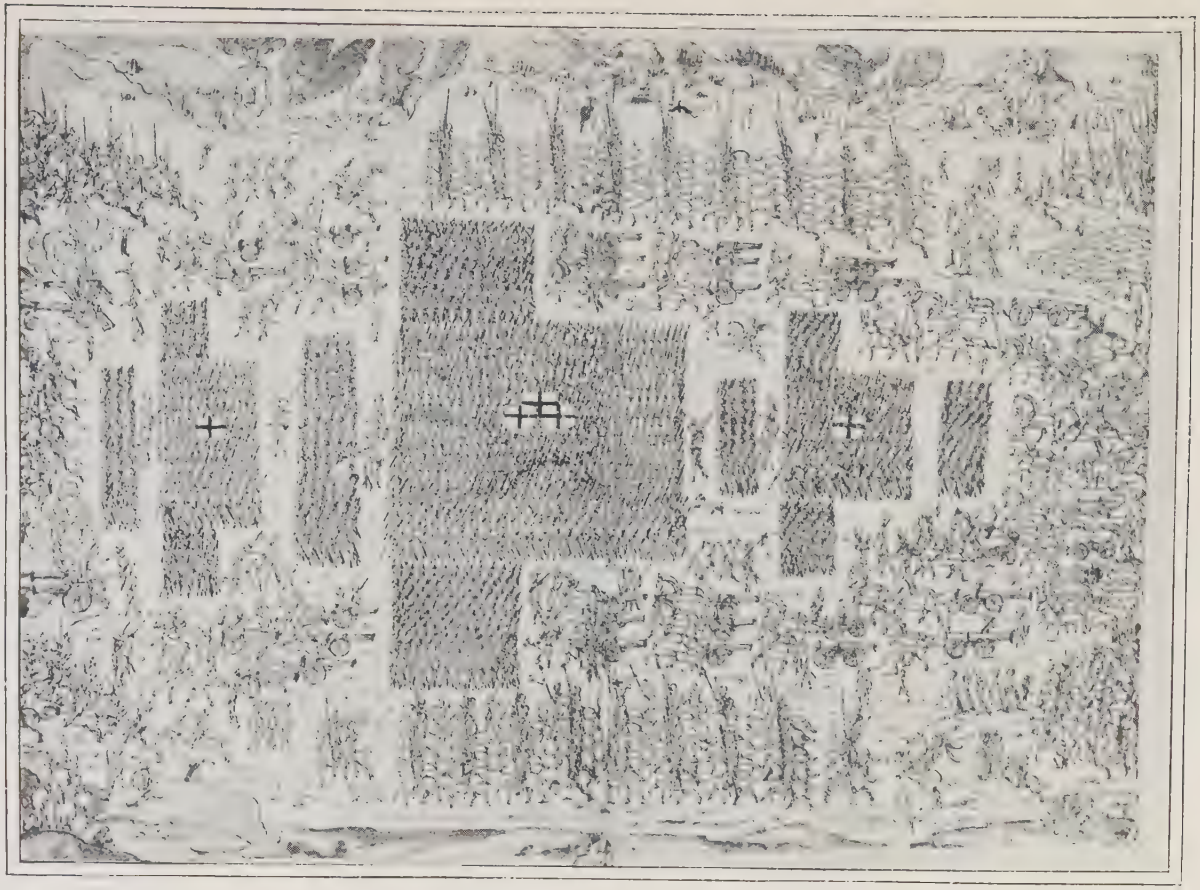
Weakness of the New.

But Edward IV. and Henry VII. had put an end to the old order of things. Half the land of England had been confiscated in the numberless attainders which followed Towton and Hexham, Barnet, and Tewkesbury. Many of the old baronies

had disappeared: others survived nominally, but had passed into new lines. There had been a terrible breach in the continuity of the old feudal relations between lord and vassal. Of the old peerages of the highest rank and power we may fairly say that those of Northumberland and Buckingham were the only ones which survived into the time of Henry VIII., for the earldoms of Arundel, Westmoreland, and Oxford, the three other ancient titles which still existed, had never been very rich or strong, and the Howards of Norfolk were not as great as their predecessors the Mowbrays. Moreover, Henry VII., by his stern repression of the practice of "livery and maintenance" (Vol. II., p. 667), had done his best to break the old military tie between the baronage and their tenantry.

Want of Discipline.

Hence it came that the new Court nobility, who were descended from the men whom Henry VII. and Edward IV. had raised to the peerage, had no such personal influence over their followers as had been possessed by the old baronage. When war was declared and a campaign over sea undertaken, armies were raised as of old by the "indenture" system, but the system no longer produced the steady and devoted bands which had followed the great lords of old. The crying sin of the armies of Henry VIII. was their abominable insubordination and disobedience to their chiefs. Except where the stern king was himself present to impose discipline by the power of the sword, the English hosts of the early sixteenth century tended to become unruly mobs at the first failure or the approach of discomfort. In 1512 Dorset's unfortunate expedition to Spain was entirely wrecked by mutiny; the soldiers grumbled at the bad food, at the inactivity of their Spanish allies, at the lack of beer—"because they had lever for to drink beer than wines and cider, for hot wines doth harm them and cider doth cast them into sickness." A strike of the strangest kind broke out: the men refused to march out of St. Sebastian unless their pay was increased from 6d. to 8d. a day. Shortly after, the astonishing spectacle was seen of a whole army deserting *en masse*. The soldiers seized shipping, baked a week's biscuit, threatened with death the officers who endeavoured to stay their departure, and sailed off for England. The king spoke of trying the Marquis of Dorset for treason, because he had not been able to keep his men to their duty,



AN ENGLISH ARMY ABOUT 1540 (MS. Aug. A. iii.).

but let the matter blow over, because he could not punish the whole army.

Eleven years later much the same thing was seen when the Duke of Suffolk took across the Channel an expedition which Wolsey called "the greatest army that hath been despatched from these shores for an hundred years," a calculation in which he was wrong, as Henry V., in 1422, and Edward IV. in 1475, had both put a greater force than 13,000 men in the field. In November the weather grew cold, and the men, for want of winter clothing and good harbourage, began to suffer severely. At last the Welshmen in the camp set up a shout and cried "Home, Home!" to which some of the English replied, with contumelious cries of "Hang, Hang!" There was a tumult in the host, which was put down with difficulty; but as the weather grew worse, discontent so increased that Suffolk was compelled to disband his troops and let them straggle back to Calais, though the king had given strict orders against a retreat, and had commanded the army to keep a forward position in France. It is small wonder that the duke, after this, "came not into the king's presence in a long season because of his great heaviness and displeasure."

Henry VIII. in the Field.

When the king himself took the field, discipline seems to have fared better. Henry was both feared and respected, and their pliant loyalty to him seems to have sufficed to keep the soldiery from such outbreaks. But we should gather that his presence was as mischievous in some ways as it was useful in others; for the king was so given to misplaced pomp and ostentation that he used to go to war with a train of *impedimenta* which must have been a serious clog and nuisance to the army. The list of the retinue and baggage that he took over seas in 1513 is astonishing, and compares strangely enough with the modest equipment with which his predecessor Henry V. used to go on campaign. His "house of timber" went about with him in fourteen waggons, he had a tent of cloth of gold, besides several scores of minor tents and pavilions for his retinue. The non-combatant part of this following was absurdly large —scores of cooks, confectioners, lavenders, butlers, scullions, and henchmen. His wardrobe alone was calculated to occupy "a hall of forty-five feet long by fifteen broad." He took with him his Master of the Jewel-house, with many strong-boxes

SOLDIERS OF THE TUDOR PERIOD. (*MS. Aug. A. iii.*)

full of jewellery. But perhaps the most astonishing part of his train was the complete choir of his chapel-royal, to the number of no less than 115 chaplains and singers. With such a horde of useless followers, requiring hundreds of waggons

A BATTLE SCENE (MS. Roy. 2 A. xvi.).

and thousands of horses, Henry seems almost to vie with Xerxes in his absurd and unpractical ostentation. The mass of baggage would have been enough to cumber any host, and we easily see why his movements were so slow and ineffective.

Henry has left behind him a very complete code of camp regulations and articles of war, dating from 1543. They are

interesting in many ways, and much of their content is very practical and sensible. One most useful order, that all camp filth and carrion is to be buried nightly in trenches outside the encampment, marks an advance in notions of sanitation on any previous warlike practice. The rules as to discipline are very strict—a consequence, no doubt, of the numerous mutinies of his earlier years. The old royal jealousy of feudal particularism is clearly shown by a rule forbidding the use of any private badges or cognisances. Every soldier is to have a large St. George's Cross on his coat, and no other emblem whatever.

Uniform Introduced.

Henry also endeavoured to introduce a regular uniform for the whole army, though the practice was not really established for a century after his death. This regulation clothing was to consist of a blue coat guarded with red, and a pair of breeches with the right leg red and the left leg blue, the latter having a red stripe three inches broad along the outer seam.

Equipment.

The troops are still divided into spears, bows, and bills. The bulk of the horsemen served in the old knightly equipment, now at its very heaviest, for the growing efficiency of firearms was still inducing the cavalry to pile more and thicker defences on their persons, till the armour "was more like anvils than mail plates." Light horsemen, called demi-lances, are also found; and towards the end of the reign a few mounted harquebusiers were also taken into the service—the prototypes of the dragoons of a later age.

Archery.

The infantry was composed, as in the time of the Wars of the Roses, of bows and bills in about equal numbers. The archery was still so good, and gave such an excellent account of itself when opposed to foreign troops furnished with firearms, that not the least tendency yet appears to drop the bow in favour of the harquebus. The great English weapon seems indeed to have been at its best in early Tudor times. The bows dredged up in 1841 from the wreck of the unlucky *Mary Rose* (p. 106), which sank off the Isle of Wight in 1545, were as much as six feet four inches in length, a size which demanded extraordinary skill and strength to manage. Bowmen and billmen alike were armed with breast- and back-pieces, and wore on their heads either the older steel skull-caps and salades, or the more modern morion—a tall peaked headpiece with a

SOLDIERS OF THE TUDOR PERIOD.
(MS. Aug. A. iii.)

curved brim, which came into general use and superseded all other infantry helmets in the second half of the Tudor period.

Artillery. The quantity of artillery with the army was continually increasing in the sixteenth century, though still very moderate according to modern ideas; a couple of hundred gunners, with ten or twelve "serpents" or "bombards," being considered a liberal allowance to an army of 10,000 men. They were commanded by a "master of the ordnance," generally a knight in early Tudor days. But as the artillery grew more important we find great peers being given the post in the second half of the century. Down to the time of Henry VIII. a great part of the royal train of ordnance had been bought abroad, and only a comparatively small portion made at home. The first establishment of large public gun-foundries dates from the years 1520–30, from which time brass cannon were regularly cast in England, and quite superseded the old hooped-iron ordnance. Peter of Cologne and Peter Baude, Henry's chief artificers, are said to have invented in 1543 the first shells for use for mortars. Stow describes them as "hollow shot of cast-iron stuffed with fireworks, fitted with screws of iron to receive a match to carry fire kindled, that the firework might be set on fire to break in small pieces the same hollow shot; whereof the smallest piece hitting any man did kill or spoil him." This invention was long before its time, like the occasional breech-loading cannon of the sixteenth century which are now and then found in artillery museums. Probably the uncertainty of explosion in the screwed match kept the invention from obtaining all the success that it merited.

Tactics: Flodden. We have already mentioned the curious dearth of general engagements in King Henry's long French and Scottish wars. Solway Moss and the Battle of the Spurs were mere cavalry scuffles. Flodden was the only pitched battle of the reign worth a careful consideration. It is one of the first British fights in which the time-honoured arrangement of the three great "battles"—the vaward, main-battle, and rearward (*cf.* p. 93)—was abandoned by both parties. James IV., moved (it is to be supposed) by the numerous French professional soldiers that accompanied him, had a front composed of five columns of moderate size, supported by four other columns in reserve

THE BATTLEFIELD OF FLODDEN PANAT.

Photo : A. Young, Burntisland.

in a second line. To prevent the crowding and hopeless inability to manœuvre that had always handicapped Scottish armies in the old English wars, there was a wide interval left between each column. This arrangement seems to have led the Scots into a fault the very reverse of their old mistake, for the separate bodies got out of touch with each other, and fought isolated engagements on different portions of Branxton hillside. Huntly's and Home's divisions on the left never kept their communications with the centre after the first charge. Bothwell's reserve column on the right centre of the second line got overlooked in a dip of the ground, and was not brought up at the right moment to succour the hard-pressed centre.

The troops of Lord Surrey were arrayed in a smaller number of divisions than the Scots, being in two great "battles," each furnished with two smaller wings. They advanced in echelon, with the right wing-division of the right-hand "battle" leading; but probably this array was caused by the hindrance of the marsh in front of the left "battle," not by any deliberate intention. It resulted, however, in the fighting beginning on the extreme right, and gradually spreading down the line as each English division got in touch with the Scottish column in its immediate front.

The details of Flodden have the same general character as those of the earlier Anglo-Scottish battles. It was essentially an infantry engagement, in which the Scottish pike was pitted against the English combination of bow and bill. All the columns in King James's army held their own at first except the right wing, where the light-armed Highlanders of Argyle and Lennox were broken early in the day. But the spearmen of the centre and left kept the English at bay in the close fighting by their serried ranks, and only yielded in the evening to the archery fire, which galled them intolerably in the intervals between the charges of the billmen and the horse of Surrey's army. Night saved the wreck of the host, or the final retreat must have ended in annihilation when the long-tried clumps of pikemen finally gave back and sought safety in a dangerous retreat towards the Tweed. For the way back to Scotland lay round the English right flank, and could not have been gained by a single

fugitive if the daylight had continued.

Before quitting the days of Henry VIII. it is necessary to mention that the reign was not unfruitful in castle-building. Henry's forts, however, were not the great strongholds of the Middle Ages, but smaller structures destined almost entirely for coast defence. The French were so often in command of the Channel, and descents on the southern counties were so numerous, that the king erected numerous castles along the coast of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, to serve as local centres of defence. They were intended to resist maritime descents, not to stand long sieges, and were of moderate size and simple structure, not like the complicated Edwardian structures on the Welsh and Scottish borders. They were placed on open stretches of shore where landing was easy, and destined to check and delay it. Sandown Castle, covering the long shelving east shore of the Isle of Wight, and Camber on the flats between Winchelsea and Rye, may serve as examples. These small castles had a permanent garrison of a few gunners, reinforced, when a descent threatened, by the local levies of the neighbourhood.

VIEW FROM RYE, SHOWING POSITION OF CAMBER CASTLE.

W. LAIRD CLOWES. The Navy under Henry VIII.

UNTIL the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Royal Navy of England consisted of very few vessels. These few, the property of the sovereign, were, in time of peace, occasionally let out to the merchants, but more often utilised to police the narrow seas, or to carry between England and the Continent personages of distinction. In war time they formed merely the nucleus of the fighting fleet, the far greater part of which was composed of the ships furnished, in accordance with their charters, by the Cinque Ports, and of a still greater number of vessels hired or "arrested" for the particular purpose in hand. Under Henry VII., the Royal Navy was augmented; but not until the reign of Henry VIII. was it organised as a standing force, and placed under the charge of a separate Government department. For this reason, Henry VIII., however partial may have been the success of his naval policy in other respects, may fairly be regarded as the Father of the British Navy. He settled the constitution of the service upon a plan from which it has ever since steadily developed. He encouraged the planting and preservation of timber for shipbuilding purposes. He vigorously repressed piracy and all maritime irregularities. "The laws made in his time," says Campbell, "for the facilitating and support of inland navigation, clearly demonstrate that the importance of large rivers began to be understood and esteemed more than during the Civil Wars, when public welfare gave way to private interest. The Thames, the Ouse, the Exe, the river of Southampton, the Severn, etc., were freed from weirs and other obstructions; on the same principle an Act was passed for rendering the river of Canterbury deeper, in order to its becoming navigable. The illegal tolls and other oppressive duties on the Severn were suppressed, that the great communication by that noble river might be as free as possible. The making of cables, and other hempen manufactures, which had been the principal stay of Bridport, in Dorsetshire, was secured to that place by statute. More than one law was passed to prevent the harbours in Devonshire and Cornwall from being injured and choked up by the stream-works of the tin mines. An Act was also passed in favour of the port of Scarborough; and with regard to Dover, the haven being in

a manner spoiled, the king expended between sixty and seventy thousand pounds out of his own coffers in building a new pier, and in other necessary works." Some favours he also granted, out of consideration for their harbour, to the inhabitants of Poole. He founded the Royal Dockyards of Woolwich and Deptford, and the Corporation of the Trinity House; and although, of course, the construction of the great and famous warship which was named after him went but a little way towards the creation of an efficient fleet, he deserves credit for the activity with which he prosecuted the work of coast defence. To this he paid special attention, while at the same time he was by no means inclined to overrate the importance of it, or to believe that England's protection could be effectively undertaken elsewhere than on the sea. He fortified the Isle of Portland, and built Hurst Castle, the forts at Cowes, Camber Castle for the defence of Rye and Winchelsea, Southsea Castle, and other works for the defence of Portsmouth, and the castles at Walmer, Sandgate, Deal, Sandown, Queenborough, St. Mawes, Pendennis, and elsewhere along the coasts. His methods may have been illegal, and even tyrannical; the results at which he aimed and which to some extent he achieved, were certainly calculated to promote the power and enhance the grandeur of the country.

Fortification.

Ships of War.

The *Regent*, the largest of the warships that had descended to him from his father, was, as has already been noticed, destroyed in action with the French in 1512. The king at once began the building of the celebrated *Henri Grace à Dieu*, or *Great Harry*, which he caused to be laid down at Erith, in September of the same year, and which was completed for sea in 1515. She appears to have been modelled upon the previous vessel of the same name (Vol. II., p. 670), but to have been somewhat larger, and much more perfect both as a sailing and as a fighting machine. There are several alleged pictures of her. One hung for many years in Canterbury Cathedral, and was at length given by the Dean and Chapter to Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Norris, who died in 1749. Another is to be found in the great canvas, the property of the King, which represents the embarkation of Henry VIII. at Dover on May 31st, 1520, to meet Francis I. on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The *Great Harry*, with the king on board, is shown, leaving Dover Harbour

with her sails set. Charnock describes the representation thus: "She has four masts with two round tops on each mast except the shortest mizen; her sails and pendants are of cloth of gold damasked. The Royal Standard of England is flying on each of the four quarters of the forecastle, and the staff of each standard is surmounted by a fleur-de-lys, *or*; pendants are flying on the mastheads; and at each quarter of the deck is a standard of St. George's Cross. Her quarters and sides, as also the tops, are fortified and decorated with heater shields, or targets, charged differently with the cross of St. George—*azure*, a fleur-de-lys, *or*, party per pale *argent* and *vert*, a union rose; and party per pale *argent* and *vert*, a portcullis, *or*, alternately and repeatedly. . . . On the front of the forecastle are depicted party per pale *argent* and *vert*, within a circle of two garters, the arms of France and England quarterly crowned, the supporters a lion and a dragon, being the arms and supporters then used by King Henry the Eighth. The same arms are repeated on the stern. On each side of the rudder is a port-hole with a brass cannon; and on the side of the main-deck are two port-holes with cannon, and the same number under the forecastle. The figure on the ship's head seems to be meant to represent a lion, but is extremely ill-carved. Under her stern is a boat, having at her head two standards of St. George's Cross, and the same at her stern." An inventory of her gear and fittings is preserved in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene[1] College, Cambridge.

Naval Guns.

From this it appears that of brass guns she had: 4 cannon, 3 demi-cannon, 4 culverins, 2 demi-culverins, 4 sakers, 2 "cannon-perers," and 2 falcons; and of iron guns, 14 port-pieces, 4 slings, 2 demi-slings, 8 fowlers, 60 baessys, 2 top-pieces, 40 hail-shot pieces, and 100 hand-guns complete. The "cannon" of the period was an 8 in. 60 pr. gun, 8 ft. 6 in. in length; the "demi-cannon" was a 6·4 in. 32 pr., 11 feet in length; the "culverin" was a 5·2 in. 16 pr., 11 feet in length; the "demi-culverin" was a 4 in. 9½ pr.; the "saker" was a 3·6 in. 6 pr., 6 ft. 11 in. in length; what the "cannon-perer" was is not quite certain; the "falcon" was a 2·5 in. 2 pr., 8 ft. 6 in. in length. The iron guns were all of small calibre.

[1 Printed in *Archæologia*, VI. The "baessys" were apparently "basilisks," or 5 in. 15 prs.]

Photo: W. M. Spooner & Co., Strand, W.C.

EMBARKATION OF HENRY VIII. ON THE *GREAT HARRY*.

(*From the painting by Volpe at Hampton Court Palace.*)

For her guns the *Great Harry* carried 2 lasts of "serpentine" and 6 lasts of "corn" powder, in barrels, a "last" weighing probably about 4,000 lb. The allowances of shot for the big guns were: for the cannon, 100; for the demi-cannon, 60; for the culverins, 120; for the demi-culverins, 70; for the sakers, 120; for the cannon-perers, 60 ("of stoen and leade"); and for the falcons, 100. Her complement consisted of 349 soldiers, 301 mariners, and 50 gunners, or 700 in all. An inventory of her gear in 1521 shows that her main-stay was 16 inches in circumference, and that she had a 22 in. cable, a 20 in. cable, and an 8 in. hawser. Writing to the king on June 4th, 1522, from the Downs, Sir William Fitzwilliam declared that the *Henri Grace à Dieu* sailed as well as, and rather better than, any ship in the fleet, and weathered them all save the *Mary Rose*.

PORTION OF THE PUMP OF THE *MARY ROSE*.
(*Tower of London.*)

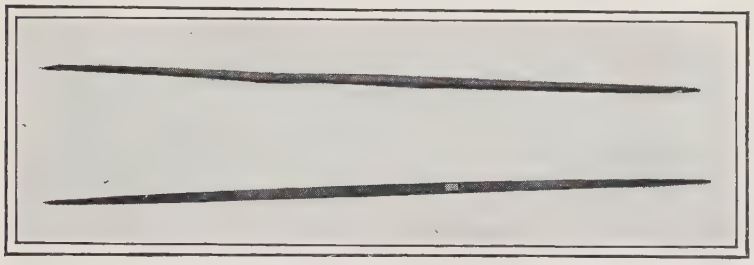
Upon the *Mary Rose*, a ship of only 600 tons burthen, she was, no doubt, an improvement as much in general design as in mere size and power of armament. The unfortunate *Mary Rose*, whose lower-deck ports were but sixteen inches out of the water, capsized while going out to engage the French fleet at Spithead in 1545, and sank with her captain and 400 men. On the same day, the king himself had dined on board. Many of her guns, some of which are very fine, were long afterwards recovered and are still preserved. Among them are an eight-sided-brass "culverin bastard" of 4·5 in. calibre, and 8 ft. 6 in. in length, and a brass "cannon-royal," the largest gun of that day, of 8·54 in. calibre. It would have carried a 66 lb. spherical shot, and that is said to have required a charge of 30 lb. of powder.

Pay. The naval pay of Henry's time was still low. A vice-admiral received 10s. a day, but a captain generally but 1s. 6d. Soldiers, mariners, and gunners received 5s. a month and 5s. for, or in the

shape of, victualling allowances. Master gunners were paid 20s., and quarter gunners 15s. 3d. a month. The men, as in earlier periods, occasionally had gratuities or rewards over and above their pay. In 1514, two clerks to the admiral received 8d. a day each.

Tactics.

In action, tactics began to be practised. Each side strove to get the weather gauge, and there was some attempt at manœuvring in regular formation; but the issue seems to have been usually decided more by means of bows and arrows, axes, pikes, lime-pots, stink-pots, and hand-to-hand fighting, than by gun-fire; and there is reason to believe that the number of



LONGBOWS FROM THE *MARY ROSE*.
(*Tower of London.*)

rounds got rid of during an engagement was always comparatively small. The practice of saluting with guns seems to have been first adopted by the Navy in this reign.

Size of Ships.

Commenting upon the increased size of ships, Father Daniel says: "One observation will alone suffice to show that the largest men-of-war of former days were not to be compared for bulk with those of the present time. The proof is that our fleets were once fitted out in harbours, where now vessels of middling size have not water to ride. Harfleur was one of the most considerable of these ports; but now sheep feed where formerly whole fleets rode at anchor, the sea having withdrawn itself the distance of a league; and it is very visible how shallow the water was at that time." Too much has been made of this somewhat illogical remark, and naval historians have, perhaps, unduly minimised the size of the ante-Tudor ships, forgetful of the fact that the recession of the sea has in many places, and notably at some of the Cinque Ports

been obviously caused by deposits of sand and shingle, so that the former depth of water cannot be accurately estimated. But there is no doubt that under the early Tudors enormous improvements were effected, as regards both size and seaworthiness; and that from the time of Henry VIII. must be dated our first possession of a Navy "fit to go anywhere and do anything."

The Admiralty.

Henry established the Navy Office, and appointed certain officers, known as the Principal Officers of the Navy, to manage the civil branches of the service under the Lord High Admiral. These seem to have held their meetings upon Tower Hill; but precise regulations for their guidance were not laid down until the reign of Edward VI.

Growth of English Naval Power.

A striking incident of the early part of Henry's sovereignty, and one which not only shows the naval importance of the country, but must have had effect in stimulating the maritime pride of the people, was the appointment of Thomas, Earl of Surrey, as commander-in-chief of the allied fleets of England and of the Roman Empire. The Emperor Charles V., in his commission to Surrey, dated June 8th, 1522, granted to the English Lord High Admiral "the same authority, full and plenary power over our Royal Navy, the captains, soldiers, and seamen thereof . . . both in promoting the officers, in conferring the honour of knighthood on persons of merit, in punishing malefactors, in giving out fitting orders, in trying and judging all causes, and in executing and appointing all and everything under his command . . . as the said admiral hath in the king his master's fleet."

Maritime Trade.

Sea-borne trade greatly increased and prospered. According to Hakluyt, the trade to the Levant especially rose into importance. "In the years 1511, 1512, etc., till the year 1534, several tall ships of London, with certain other ships of Southampton and Bristol, had an ordinary and usual trade to Sicily, Candia, Chio, and sometimes to Cyprus, as also to Tripoli and Beirut, in Syria. The commodities which they carried thither were fine kerseys of divers colours, coarse kerseys, white western dozens, cottons, certain cloths called statutes, and others called cardinal whites, and calf-skins which were well sold in Sicily, etc. The commodities which they returned back were silks, camlets, rhubarb, Malmseys, muscadels and other wines, sweet

oils, cotton, wood, Turkey carpets, galls, pepper, cinnamon, and some other spices, etc. Besides the natural inhabitants of the aforesaid places, they had, even in those days, traffic with Jews, Turks, and other foreigners. Neither did our merchants only employ their own English shipping, but sundry strangers' also; as Candians, Ragusans, Sicilians, Genoeses, Venetian galleasses, Spanish, and Portugal ships; all which particulars I have diligently perused and copied out of the ledger-books of the R.W., Sir William Locke, Mercer of London, Sir William Bowyer, Alderman of London, Mr. John Gresham, and others." The king freely employed his ambassadors and agents in the furtherance of the growing commerce of the country. He appointed a Genoese as English Consul in the distant island of Chio; and Ley in Spain, and Pace in Switzerland and Venice, had always, as much by Henry's direction as by their own inclination, as watchful eyes for the commercial as for the diplomatic advantage of the country. A very extensive scheme of Pace's for the enlargement of English trade with the Levant, was only prevented from coming to the king's notice by the jealous interference of Wolsey, who, as Campbell says, first decried him as a madman, and then, by his ill-usage, made him really such.

Henry VIII.'s Admirals.

The age also began to breed great naval commanders, as well as adventurers and explorers (pp. 300 *seq.*). Among these were Sir Edward Howard, Lord High Admiral in 1513–14, who in the latter year met the French admiral, the Sieur de Porsmoguer (a name corrupted by the English of the time into Sir Pierce Morgan), off Brest, and fought a bloody but indecisive battle with him, and who soon afterwards fell once more gallantly leading a squadron to the attack of some French galleys in Conquêt Bay. When he knew that he must die he flung overboard his chain of gold nobles, and his great golden whistle, that the spoils of an English admiral should not pass into the hands of the enemy. The gold whistle, it should be mentioned, was then the badge of command of an admiral, just as the silver whistle or "call" now is of a boatswain; and more than once during the last hundred years a sensible proposal has been made to revive it as such.

There was also Sir Thomas Howard, younger brother of the above, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk. He succeeded

Sir Edward as Lord High Admiral. Both were sons of that Earl of Surrey who had said: "The narrow seas shall not be infested with pirates so long as I have an estate to furnish a

THOMAS HOWARD, THIRD DUKE OF NORFOLK.
(*By permission, from the painting in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk.*)

ship and a son to command it." Sir Thomas first distinguished himself by defeating and slaying one of the most notorious of these pirates, the redoubtable Scot, Sir Andrew Barton. He

also fought with distinction at Flodden; he was made, as we have seen, commander-in-chief of the allied fleets of Henry and the Emperor; and he won many successes at sea. Finally there was Sir William Fitzwilliam, who became Earl of Southampton, and who was not only a great commander, but also a very accomplished seaman, at a period when the two qualifications did not commonly go together.

Pay on Active Service.

Some interesting particulars concerning the government of a fleet at this period and the method of providing for the payment of the ships' crews are to be found in an indenture made in 1512 between the king and Sir Edward Howard, admiral-in-chief. After reciting the rates of pay for the various ranks, the instrument declares that the officers and men engaged shall have "Certain *dead shares*, as hereafter doth ensue; of all which wages, rewards, and victual-money, the said admiral shall be paid in manner and form following:—he shall, before he and his retinue enter into the ship, make their musters before such commissioners as shall please our said Sovereign-lord to depute and appoint; and immediately after such musters be made, he shall receive of our Sovereign-lord, by the hands of such as his Grace shall appoint, for himself, the said captains, soldiers, mariners, and gunners, wages, rewards, and victual-money after the rate before rehearsed, for three months then next ensuing." From this it appears that three lunar months' wages were paid in advance. The "dead shares," it must be supposed, regulated the division of prize-money. The stated tonnage of the ships engaged on this occasion was: *Regent*, 1,000; *Mary Rose*, 500; *Peter Pomegranate*, 400; *Nicolas Reede*, 400; *Mary and John*, 260; *Ann*, of Greenwich, 160; *Mary George*, 300; *Dragon*, 100; *Barbara*, 140; *George*, of Falmouth, 140; *Nicolas of Hampton*, 200; *Martenet*, 140; *Genet*, 70; *Christopher Davy*, 160; and *Sabyan*, 120. "The said soldiers, mariners, and gunners," continues the instrument, "shall have of our Sovereign-lord *conduct-money*, that is to say, every of them, for every day's journey from his house to the place where they shall be shipped (accounting twelve miles for the day's journey) sixpence; of which days they shall have evidence by their oaths, before him or them, that our said Sovereign-lord shall appoint and assign to pay them the said wages and conduct-money."

J. BASS MULLINGER. The New Learning.

TOWARDS the close of the fifteenth century, learning and education in England underwent a permanent change, owing to the spread of the great movement known as the Renaissance to our shores. Commencing in Italy, in the time of Petrarch, its earliest pioneer, it gradually assumed a twofold character: first, in connection with Latin literature; and secondly, in connection with Greek literature. As regards the former, it is necessary to recall that many of Cicero's writings, which had been for ages lying in oblivion, were now for the first time again brought to light and studied with an almost unbounded enthusiasm by Italian scholars, with many of whom it became their chief ambition to be successful imitators of Cicero's Latin style; as regards the latter, it is also to be remembered that Greek literature, as associated with heresy, had long been under the ban of the Church, and was consequently neglected. But in the fifteenth century, both before and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, there had been a continual migration of Greek scholars into Italy, bringing with them numerous manuscripts of authors almost unknown in the West, and interpreting them to admiring audiences in the universities of Florence, Padua, and Rome. The fame of their lectures attracted scholars from all arts of Europe. In England, some students at Oxford—among whom were Selling, Grocyn, Linacre, and William Latimer—were thus induced to repair to Italy in order to acquire a knowledge of Greek, which, on their return, they imparted to their countrymen at home. Gradually their example was followed by a considerable number of scholars both from Oxford and Cambridge, and a great literary intercourse was thus brought about between Italy and England. This led in turn to a more general intercourse, which was attended by very important results in the latter country.

But in England, as in Germany, it was not without considerable opposition that the "new learning," as it was termed, made its way. Civilians and canonists disliked the Ciceronian Latin, by the side of which their crabbed and barbarous diction appeared yet more crabbed and barbarous than before. The theologians, accustomed to cite the Latin Fathers as incontrovertible authorities with respect to points of doctrine, could not patiently endure to hear Clemens, Origen, or St. Basil cited in

opposition and as of equal authority. Schoolmasters throughout the country were almost invariably hostile to a movement which threatened to revolutionise the prevailing methods of education. A bitter feud broke out between the contending parties; and at the universities, under the names of "Greeks"

ERASMUS, BY HOLBEIN.
(*Galerie du Louvre, Paris.*)

and "Trojans," they carried on a series of animated conflicts. At one time it even appeared probable that the latter would prove victorious. Erasmus, who was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge from 1511 to 1514, after vainly endeavouring to establish a school of Greek in the university, abandoned his design in despair. At Oxford, the antipathy to the study was so violent, that in 1519 it became necessary to

issue a royal mandate in order to obtain for the "Greeks" immunity from molestation. Had it not been for the exertions and influence of statesmen such as Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and Cardinal Wolsey, the progress of the new learning in England might have been indefinitely postponed.

The Work of Erasmus.

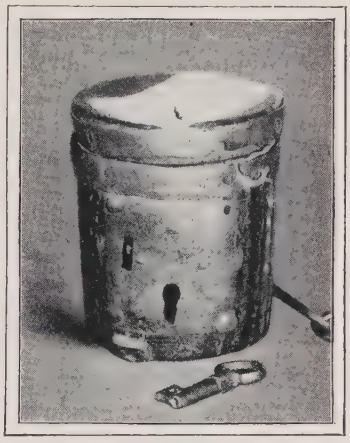
At this great crisis, the debt of our forefathers to Erasmus would seem to have been almost incalculable. Although he had failed in his endeavours on behalf of Greek in Cambridge, his influence there, in another direction, was considerable and enduring. It was there that he mainly produced his *Novum Instrumentum*, a paraphrase of the New Testament into Latin from the original Greek, and not, as Wycliffe's English Bible, chiefly from the Latin Vulgate—the errors of which he exposed unsparingly. The paraphrase by Erasmus also paved the way for Tyndale's versions in the vernacular. The whole question of the study of Greek, at this period, is thus to be found standing in close relation to the other great movement of the first half of the sixteenth century—the English Reformation.

The Innovators at Cambridge.

It was about the year 1521 that it became notorious in Cambridge that certain members of the University, mostly young men, were in the habit of holding meetings in the town, at an old inn, known as the White Horse, for the purpose of religious discussions. These assemblings would appear, in the first instance, to have had for their object simply the reading of Erasmus's Paraphrase, and an examination of some of the questions which it raised by its divergence from the Vulgate. A little later, however, it began to be rumoured that these discussions were extending to the yet graver questions opened up by Luther's earlier writings, in which he was assailing not only the prevalent abuses but the doctrinal errors of the Roman Church. The White Horse now began to be known as "Germany," and its devout frequenters as "Germans." In reality, however, only a few of those who thus assembled adopted the Lutheran tenets; they mainly wished to bring about a moderate reform, which, while rejecting the Papal supremacy on the one hand, would have retained the institution of the episcopal order on the other. Among the more advanced were Coverdale and Tyndale, whose versions of the Scriptures in the vernacular became an important influence in our literary history, by the manner in which they

served to fix the standard of English prose. Among the more moderate was Hugh Latimer, who by his powerful pulpit oratory roused the laity to a more systematic study of the Bible for themselves, although he did not concern himself with Luther's doctrines. Another was Robert Barnes, who confined himself chiefly to inveighing against the abuses of the Church and the pride and pomp of Wolsey.

Erasmus himself, although he largely aided the Reformation by his labours, had little sympathy with the movement. He would have liked to see the more glaring abuses and superstitious observances abolished, to see the authority of General Councils restored, as the supreme tribunal of the Western Church, and he would have rejoiced, above all, to see education and learning more widely diffused among both the clergy and the laity. When, however, he saw that Luther was leading his followers into a position of antagonism to the Church which could result only in complete rupture, he drew back and took his stand on the side of conservatism.



ALMSBOX, HARBLEDOWN, KENT.
(*Which received Erasmus's contribution.*)

But there was yet a third field of labour in which the teaching of Erasmus was destined to be attended by more definite results than either in connection with the study of Greek or of divinity. This was in relation to the improvement of education among the poorer laity. To no single scholar, indeed, is the cause of education in the sixteenth century under greater obligations than to Erasmus. His freedom from traditional prejudice, combined with his high scholarship and natural sagacity, enabled him to discern the conditions essential to the profitable acquirement of knowledge, whether in the case of a future monarch or of the son of a mechanic. It was in the year 1510 that the celebrated John Colet, who had been one of Erasmus's best friends in England, consulted him

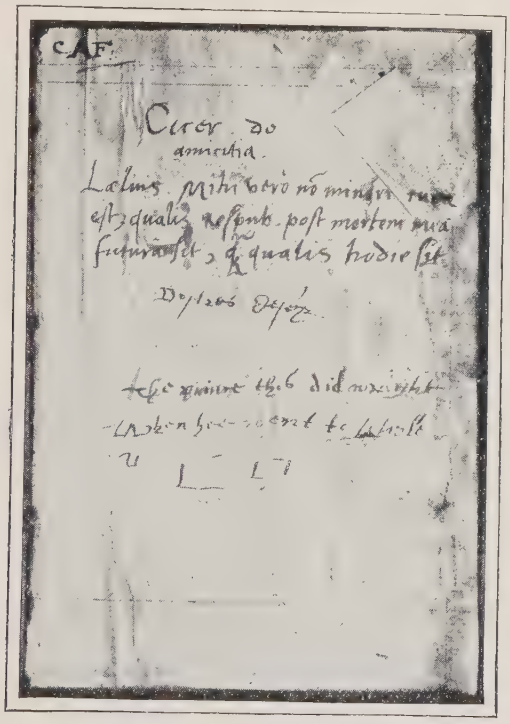
The Impulse to Education.

as to the choice of a master for a new school which he was proposing to found in London. Colet, the son of a Lord Mayor of London, was a man of fortune, and had studied at Oxford and in Italy; and it was his aim to educate for the Church a select number of youths who should reflect the best influences of the Renaissance, and especially be taught "pure Latin, the

DEAN COLET, BY HOLBEIN.
(*Windsor Castle.*)

very Roman tongue used in the time of Tully and Sallust." His conception of the functions of the teacher was undoubtedly high; but he found Erasmus's yet higher. In fact, the letter in which the great scholar embodies the advice demanded, may be looked upon as one of the most remarkable compositions in the whole literature of the history of education. Erasmus held that a good teacher, even for boys, should not only be a good Latinist, but should also know Greek; that he should

have studied the Fathers; that he should have studied the ancient philosophers; that he should have a knowledge of history, both sacred and profane, and likewise of geography and comparative philology, This high ideal can hardly have been fully realised in the appointment of William Lyly, the compiler of the first Latin Grammar for public schools in



EDWARD VI.'S AUTOGRAPH.
(*In Erasmus's Treatise: St. John's College, Cambridge.*)

England, to the Mastership of St. Paul's School, London. Nevertheless, it may serve to show to what a height the theory of education had risen in the days and in the realm of Henry VIII.

Some six years later, in 1516, Erasmus compiled his treatise on the "Education of a Christian Prince," in which he enunciates a series of maxims designed to guide a monarch in his conduct of the realm and in his relations to the people. The

compiler rather indicates the ideal to which the royal education should tend than lays down any distinct method to be pursued. The treatise, however, soon came to be regarded as the best manual for those select few whom accident of birth might some day call upon to sway the sceptre, and the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, still preserves the copy presented to King Edward VI. in his eleventh year, and containing the royal autograph.

Boys' Schools in the Middle Ages.

In his old age, in the year 1529, Erasmus embodied the results of his long experience in a more practical treatise on the "First Liberal Education of Boys." To the reader of the present day so much of the advice here given will now appear trite and commonplace that it is only by recalling to mind what had hitherto been the discipline and training of the medieval school that we can do justice to the originality and sound judgment which pervade this admirable treatise. We hear but little, it is true, concerning schoolboy life in medieval times, but that little is generally unfavourable. One of the earliest glimpses we get is that afforded in the pages of Fitz-Stephen, the historian, of schools in London in the twelfth century; it seems to show that disputations were a good deal encouraged among the scholars—a practice almost universally condemned by the most authoritative writers on the subject of education. Generally speaking, there appears to have been a complete disregard of special aptitudes on the part of the individual pupil; the traditional text-books were dictated to the class in a formal, unintelligent manner; the average acquirements were limited to reading and writing, to which, in the cathedral schools, there were added chanting and an elementary knowledge of Latin. At the same time, the discipline was harsh, and sometimes cruel in the extreme (*cf.* Vol. II., p. 179). Even among the gentry, as we see from the "Paston Letters," flogging was looked upon as a necessary corrective to boyish disinclination to study. Mrs. Agnes Paston, in a letter to a teacher of her son (a lad of fifteen), written in 1457, begs that "if the boy has not done well, he will truly belash him till he will mend." Some endeavour was made to impart a few notions of deportment and manners, by instructing the youthful gentry in the "Book of Urbanitie." Erasmus, in his treatise, recommends that education should begin at home, and that a teacher

should be chosen with aptitudes and a liking for his vocation. In learning Latin, a good vocabulary is first to be acquired, all grammatical rules being made as concise and general as possible; lessons are never to be tedious, but should be given at frequent intervals. As soon as a foundation had been laid in language, the learner was to acquire a knowledge of facts and things. Erasmus held that the training of the memory was a matter requiring especial attention; and, as essential thereto, he postulates a clear comprehension of facts, correct order of these in the mind, careful grounding in first notions

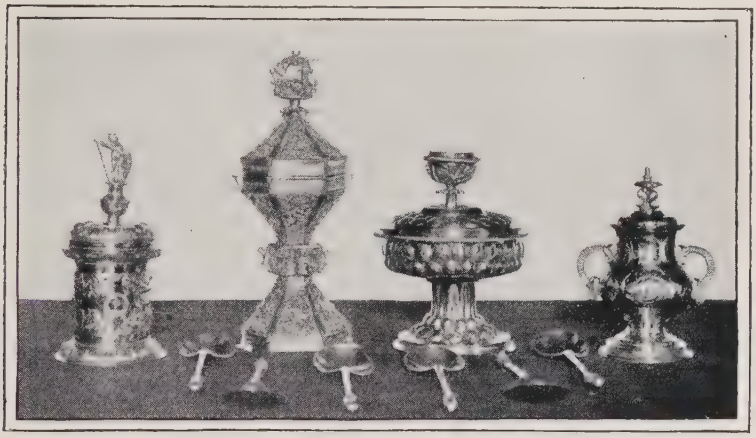


PLATE BEQUEATHED BY BISHOP FOX.
(*Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*)

and in distinctions. Such are a few of the really philosophic views on the subject of education with which, at this period, Englishmen, by the aid of this sensible tractate, became familiarised.

Wolsey and Education.

It was Wolsey's policy, as far as his position permitted, to place himself at the head of the advancing movement; and the foundation of Cardinal College (afterwards Christ Church) at Oxford, in 1525, endowed with the revenues of some of the suppressed monasteries and with teachers of the new learning, some of them brought from Cambridge, gave practical proof of his sympathy. Brasenose had already been founded in 1511; and the rise of Corpus Christi in 1517, with chairs for

lecturers in Latin and Greek, was a notable event in the history of learning at Oxford. The latter foundation owed its origin to Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, another eminent patron of education at this period. At Cambridge, Bishop Fisher, the patron of Erasmus, was proceeding on the same lines; and through his efforts, the munificence of the Lady Margaret, the mother of Henry VII., was successively directed to the foundation of Christ's College in 1506 (Vol. II., p. 686), and St. John's College in 1511. At all these new foundations the statutes given for their observance served not only to encourage the new studies, but also, by the absence of many restrictions to be found in the codes of the older societies, to impart a greater animation and sense of freedom in other respects. At St. John's College was gathered together a brilliant circle of scholars, among whom were William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley), Sir John Cheke, and Roger Ascham, who vied with each other in their enthusiastic pursuit of the study of Greek and in the energy with which they devoted themselves to the instruction of the younger students.

New Grammar Schools.

Nearly at the same time that he founded Cardinal College Wolsey also founded the Grammar School at Ipswich, and himself drew up a plan of classical instruction distributed through eight classes, which he designed should serve as a model for the grammar schools throughout the kingdom. The example thus set by Colet and Wolsey was widely followed, and before the close of Henry's reign some fifty other schools were founded. Among them were those of the newly founded sees of Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, and Peterborough, together with those at Canterbury, Grantham, Norwich, Rochester, Stamford, Sutton Coldfield, Wisbech, and Worcester. Of the already existing foundations, originally designed solely for the sons of citizens and townsmen, some are to be traced as far back as the twelfth century—Derby having been founded in 1162, and St. Albans in 1195. From that period down to the beginning of Henry VIII.'s reign, Carlisle enumerates some five-and-thirty more—among them, Winchester, Hereford, Eton, The Mercers', Chichester, Lancaster, and Guildford. Not a few others probably became extinct; for Roger Bacon asserts that in his time there were schools in every city, town, and borough, while in London the number was such as to cause the capital

to be designated the "Third University." With the fifteenth century, however, these schools, like the universities, had rapidly declined, and in 1447 we find four London clergymen petitioning for permission to found schools in their respective parishes of Allhallows-the-More; St. Andrew's, Holborn; St. Peter's, Cornhill; and St. Mary Colechurch. It had also become the practice of many of the nobility and gentry to send their sons to be educated at the school of some large monastery —such as Glastonbury, Bury St. Edmunds, and Hyde near Winchester. Others confided them to the care of some prelate, distinguished for his virtues and learning; and Sir Thomas More himself had been educated in the household of Archbishop Morton.

The Dissolution and Education.

The dissolution of the monasteries stands in very close connection with the history of education in England. Of the effete condition of many of these foundations there appears to have been a widespread conviction long before the final catastrophe took place (Vol. II., p. 630). The school at Ipswich, like Cardinal College, was endowed with the revenues of a suppressed priory, and in thus appropriating monastic property Wolsey appears to have had the sanction of the Roman see. Had it not been, indeed, for Henry's quarrel with the Pope, it is probable that a considerable proportion of the monastic revenues might have been thus transferred without involving so complete a revolution as that which ultimately resulted. But for a time a very different tendency seemed likely to prevail, and the greed of the courtiers, unsatisfied with the spoil of the monasteries, threatened to engulf the universities and colleges themselves. Considerable estates were permanently alienated from more than one foundation, and all found themselves distinctly menaced. In the year 1545, when Fisher's influence could no longer be invoked, St. John's College was in great danger. Fortunately, however, King Henry was induced to examine for himself the accounts of the society, and thereupon peremptorily refused to sanction the proposed spoliation, observing that "he thought he had not in his realm so many persons so honestly maintained in living by so little land and rent." In one respect, indeed, the dispersion of the monastic communities proved directly detrimental to the universities, for it had been customary for both monasteries and friaries to

send their most promising members to Oxford or Cambridge, there to reside for several years, keeping their acts in the schools and attending lectures; "in order," says a royal injunction, so late as 1535, that "after they were learned in good and holy letters, they might, when they returned home, instruct their brethren and diligently teach the Word of God."

Revolution in University Teaching.

Simultaneously with the disappearance of the monks and the friars, the universities witnessed a complete revolution in the ancient system of instruction. Cromwell's commissioners appeared both at Oxford and at Cambridge, and formally expelled the schoolmen and their commentators alike from the colleges and from the schools. One of their number, Dr. Leighton, in an oft-quoted passage, has left on record the scene to be witnessed in the great court of New College, Oxford, "full of the leaves of Dunce" (Duns Scotus), "the wind blowing them into every corner." Among the more notable of the new provisions were those requiring that each college should now found and maintain "two daily public lectures, one of Greek the other of Latin" that all students should be allowed to read the Scriptures without interference, and also to attend lectures upon them; that lectures on the canon law and degrees in that faculty should alike be abolished; that the study of Aristotle should be pursued without "the frivolous questions and obscure glosses" of his medieval commentators; that Rudolphus Agricola (an early German reformer) and Melanchthon should occupy a prominent place in the new list of text-books. In the year 1540 the foundation of the Regius Professorships at both universities on the several subjects of divinity, civil law, physic, Hebrew, and Greek, with separate endowments, afforded important extraneous aid to these several branches of learning. Ascham, writing about the year 1542, speaks with enthusiasm of the impetus thus given to classical studies at Cambridge, which he describes as "quite another place," "so substantially and splendidly has it been endowed by the royal munificence." "Aristotle and Plato," he goes on to say, "are being read even by the boys (the undergraduates); Sophocles and Euripides are more familiar authors than Plautus was in your time; Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon are more conned and discussed

than Livy was then. Demosthenes is as familiar an author as Cicero used to be; and there are more copies of Isocrates in use than there used to be of Terence. Nor do we disregard the Latin authors, but study with the greatest zeal the choicest writers of the best period." Much of the credit for this improved state of things appears to have belonged to Sir John Cheke (p. 281), who had been appointed to the professorship of Greek. The foundation of Trinity College in 1546 is, perhaps, the last notable event in connection with the history of education in Henry's reign. Through the royal munificence it was largely endowed, chiefly from the great tithes which had formerly belonged to the monasteries, while in its constitution the college represented the first complete example of a society administered and providing its various courses of instruction in entire independence of the university.

Eminent Educationalists.

It is due to Henry himself to recognise the fact that he was a scholar and well-read theologian, and that he selected the ablest teachers to educate his own family. Ludovicus Vives was the tutor of the Princess Mary; Roger Ascham of Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth; Sir John Cheke of Prince Edward. No scholar in this reign, however, exercised a more potent influence than Sir Thomas More, whose wont it was to assemble under his roof young scholars destined for the clerical profession or for official life, whom he treated with parental kindness; while of the circle thus gathered round him, we are told that it resembled "rather an universite than a private school." His "Utopia" remained unprinted in England during his lifetime (p. 136), but in 1551 it was translated into English by Ralph Robinson, a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and belongs accordingly to the literary influences of the reign of Edward VI. From its pages we may not unreasonably infer the breadth of thought and wise sentiments which characterised the author's conversation with those whom he, in a certain sense, educated. Allowing for certain communistic notions, it may justly be said that social reform and enlightened philanthropy, ever since More's time, have seemed to draw nearer to the ideal which he here holds up, of an imaginary community where life is carried on according to Nature rather than the dictates of mediæval asceticism, and where legislation places within the reach of all, healthy homes,

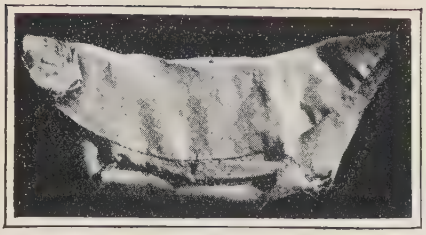
More.

prescribed hours both of labour and recreation, land and other property shared in common, perfect freedom of opinion, and every kind of intellectual pursuit and innocent pastime.

Elyot. Among those who received instruction under More's roof was Sir Thomas Elyot, another of the many eminent men whom Wolsey's discernment raised to serve the State. In his remarkable book entitled "The Governour," which appeared in 1531, Elyot propounded a variety of views on the subject of education, many of which were startling to his contemporaries. They were largely derived from Plato's "Republic," as well as from the writings of Patrizi, an Italian bishop of the preceding century, and thus distinctly represent Renaissance influence. But to the majority of Englishmen they were altogether new; and appearing as the utterances of a distinguished diplomatist of the day, they produced a great effect at the time, while their subsequent effect on educational literature was yet greater. Among the reforms which Elyot advocated were: systematic kindness to the youthful learner and a careful regard for individual aptitudes; the use of object-lessons in instructing children, with the aid of pictures and toys; in the study of Latin, less attention to the niceties of grammar and more to the meaning and spirit of each author; in the study of Greek, an observed sequence of authors; the use of maps in the study of historical writers, less time given to logic.

Vives. Superior in originality to Elyot was Ludovicus Vives, a native of Valencia in Spain. He had studied not only at the university of his native town, but also at Paris, Louvain, and Oxford. He resided in England from 1523 to 1528, and during that time acted as tutor to the Princess Mary. Although well read in the classical authors, he did not regard them with that unqualified admiration, approaching almost to idolatry, too often exhibited by the scholar of the Renaissance. He had the courage dispassionately to weigh in the balance the disadvantages as well as the advantages to be derived from the study of the pagan literature, and pronounced his conclusions with a candour and sobriety of judgment displayed by few of his contemporaries. He is perhaps the first writer on the subject of education who advised the use of expurgated editions of the classical authors. His discourse

Crucifix.



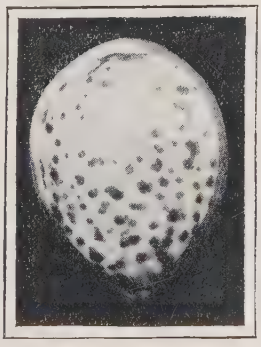
Pileolus or cap.

Cameo, with head of Virgin.

Sodality Crucifix, Cross, Seal, and George.

Reliquary.

Pileus.



Pouncet Box.

RELICS OF SIR THOMAS MORE AT STONYHURST COLLEGE

(By permission, from photographs by the Rev. A. I. Cortie, S.J.)

"On Studies" (De Disciplinis), which appeared about the same time as Elyot's work, is also the vehicle of many independent and enlightened judgments on other educational questions. He was not only one of the first to reject the notion of accepting the authority of Aristotle as final on all scientific subjects; but he, in a very remarkable manner, anticipated Bacon by insisting upon observation and experiment as essential to all true scientific advancement. In discussing the choice of a site for a school he dwells upon considerations rarely present to the minds of founders in those days, such as the healthiness of the locality, cheapness of necessaries for living, the character of the crafts carried on in the neighbourhood, and other features of the local life. In connection with teaching he lays special stress on a careful continuity in the work of instruction, the interdependence of the different parts being always maintained. He is of opinion that more should be left to the independent exertion of the pupil than was the practice in that day. And while he places, with justice at that time, the acquirement of Latin in the foreground, he holds that it should be taught, and grammar likewise, *through the medium of the vernacular*. Living languages, he considers, should be acquired, *not* through a grammar, but by learning to converse in them with natives.

Ascham. It is astonishing that views so rational and enlightened should have been propounded so authoritatively in the first half of the sixteenth century, and should have produced so little effect that they appear to have altogether passed from recollection, and were again put forth two centuries later as the result of independent speculation. Much, on the other hand, of what Elyot had advised and taught was embodied by Roger Ascham in his well-known treatise, "The Scholemaster." The first edition of the book did not appear until 1570, but we know that as early as 1545 he was carrying into practice the views to which he here gives expression. During the early part of King Edward's reign he was acting as tutor to the Princess Elizabeth, to whose remarkable skill as a linguist and conversational command of Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, he pays a notable tribute. A temporary coolness arose, however, between the princess and her instructor, and from 1550 to the death of Edward, Ascham was

absent from England, acting as secretary to Sir Richard Morysin, English ambassador to the Court of Charles V.

The most striking feature in the "Scholemaster" is the method recommended by Ascham in teaching Latin. It is borrowed from the younger Pliny, but improved upon, and is as simple as it is rational. As the text-book of instruction,

Classical Teaching.

WOODCUT FROM ASCHAM'S "SCHOLEMASTER," 1571.

Ascham recommends a selection from the easier Letters of Cicero, which had been compiled by his friend John Sturm. A letter was to be taken, and the learner was first of all to be made clearly to understand its object and the tenor of its contents. Then he was to render the original into English, and to do this more than once, until he understood the precise force of every Latin expression. Next, he was to

parse the Latin, word by word. After this, he was to have a "paper book" given to him, in which he was to write a translation of the whole letter into English. Then, after a certain interval of not less than an hour, he was to have his English version given him back to turn into Latin. Then he was to take his Latin version to the master, who was to place the pupil's Latin and Cicero's side by side, and, pointing out the deviations from the original, to make these discrepancies the basis of *a lesson in grammar.*

Notwithstanding the manifest merits of this method, it involved too much trouble on the part of the teacher with the individual pupil, and called, perhaps, for too much intelligence in the average instructor to be acceptable in the class room. The method which ultimately obtained in the public grammar school was that of Ascham's contemporary above-mentioned, John Sturm, of Strassburg—a system of carefully graduated instruction extending through nine classes, in which little was left to the discretion of the instructor of each class and little regard was paid to the individual capacity of the scholar. It had, however, the merit of reducing the work of teaching the classics to a system of uniform, rigid drill, which appealed much more successfully than Ascham's method to the mechanical spirit of the age and to the interests of the ordinary schoolmaster. But although his method failed to gain currency, Ascham's "Scholemaster" at once took its permanent place as an English classic. The whole work abounds with choice anecdotes, admirable reflections, pregnant sentiments from pagan authors, scholarly criticisms; and exhibits throughout, moreover, a deep yet kindly estimate of the boy nature, which makes it one of the most suggestive and fascinating books in the English language, and justly entitles the author to the praise bestowed upon him by Gabriel Harvey, of being "a flowing spring of humanity." Unfortunately, however, his pleadings in favour of a more kindly discipline remained as little regarded as his method of teaching Latin. The harsh treatment of the grammar school (Vol. II., p. 179) continued, and became proverbial; so that parents, as at Farnworth early in the seventeenth century, would sometimes complain to the magistrates that their children were in "danger of losing their senses, lives, and limbs."

GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Literature.

THAT period of the history of English literature which includes the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Mary has an interest which varies remarkably, according to the standard of appreciation adopted. Judged by the positive literary merit of the writers whose names are included in it, it can hardly be admitted to the second class, and certainly not to the first. It produced no poet and no prose-writer whose works have retained, or have at any time reached, a prominent position among English classics. Skelton, More, Latimer, Wyatt, Ascham, and Surrey are the only names in it that are at all familiar to any but students of English literature; and if we add Hawes at the earliest part of it, and Udall later, we shall have pretty well exhausted the list of those whose literary interest, intrinsically and without the aid of the historic estimate, is above the average. We may add many as curiosities, as valuable for the matter of their writings as teachers, and so forth. But here we get into quite another order of appreciation—that of the historic estimate itself. Viewed from this side, the period is not only not insignificant, but it takes very high rank; for it is one of those by no means common periods when the order changes, not with the gradual and almost imperceptible kind of change which is always before us. It is not merely a shifting of scenes that is going on, it is the passage from one act to another—almost the passage from one play to another in a trilogy or tetralogy. In a certain sense no change has taken place since which has been so sweeping as that which began, if it was not fully accomplished, during these fifty years. Here English literature ceases to be medieval, and prepares itself to be modern; it applies itself for enrichment and comparison to the classical tongues, regarded for the first time as literary models, and to modern languages other than French; it makes efforts at the drama; it discusses abstract questions of philosophy and polity no longer in the scholastic manner. Above all, it sets about a complete reformation of its poetry, a reformation the effects of which, indeed, are not fully seen till a quarter of a century after it has ceased, but which is practically inevitable, not merely from the date of "Tottel's Miscellany" (1557), but from the much earlier date at

The Modern Era Begins.

which the more important contents of that Miscellany were written.

The causes of this great change were necessarily manifold, and some of them were not specially literary; but in so far as specially literary influences were necessary and were at work, they were supplied by the two new studies above referred to. The first was the study of the classics, and especially of Greek (p. 112), not merely as texts, the matter of which was to be more or less implicitly believed, but from the point of view of scholarship as models of style, as examples of literary life, and instructions in literary manners. The other was the study of the literature of Southern Europe, and especially of Italy, and rather later Spain, not neglecting the more northern productions of Germany, for matter chiefly. France had already exercised her full teaching influence, and France at this particular moment had nothing whatever to teach. It was not till quite towards the end of our period that, in Marot and Rabelais, she began once more to produce writers of great individual talent, and neither of these had anything to teach Englishmen in what Englishmen were then specially anxious to learn—the formal parts of literature.

A BUCOLIC POET.
(*From Jascuy's edition of Lyndsay*, 1558.)

Hawes and Skelton.

It is seldom, however, that a period of change from the old to the new like this opens with such striking examples of the old as Hawes and Skelton. They complete each other in a very remarkable way, and though they have wide differences in appearance, they have even greater agreements in reality. They were almost exact contemporaries, for though it is not known when either was born, Skelton certainly died in 1529, and the only positive mention that we have of Hawes as dead dates from the following year. Hawes was an Oxford man; Skelton was of Cambridge. Hawes travelled, was Groom of the Chamber to Henry VIII., was evidently a great student of Chaucer and his school, especially Lydgate, and in the main followed them

in his own verse. Scarcely anything more is known of him personally. With Skelton, who was probably a rather older man, it is different. A Master of Arts at Cambridge from, it would appear, 1484, he was soon created Poet Laureate by the sister university—a dignity rather to be compared with the academic "crowns" of some foreign institutions than with the

Skelton Poeta.
Eterno manlura die dum lidera fulgent
Equora dumq; tument hec laurea noſtra virebit.
Hinc noſtrum celebre et nomẽ referetur ad aſtra.
Vndiq; Skeltonis memorabitur altera donis

SKELTON.

(*From his "Garlande of Laurel,"* 1523.)

office of Dryden and Lord Tennyson. He was an industrious translator of Latin, and was patronised by Henry VII. and his mother Lady Margaret. He took orders rather late, fourteen years after his Master's degree was presented to the Rectory of Diss, in Norfolk (his native county), and proceeded to take to himself a wife, for which, though not deprived, he was sus-

pended. He went to London and, though he had once been tutor to Henry VIII., and seems to have been well treated by him, plunged into the fray against Henry's favourite, Wolsey, attacking him in various satires of no great polish but of unsurpassed virulence and occasional vigour, the chief of which is "Why come ye not to Court?" He had to take sanctuary at Westminster, and died there but a few months before Wolsey's disgrace.

Although, as has been said, there are strange differences between these two contemporaries, the differences are accompanied by resemblances not less remarkable. Hawes is essentially and not merely in his accidents, a courtly poet. His chief poem, 'The Pastime of Pleasure; or, the History of Grand Amour and La Belle Pucel" (of which, with his other work, the first thorough edition has long been expected from Professor Arber) speaks itself by its very title to all who know the old English poetry. In general character, no less than in minor developments, it deviates hardly at all from the common form of the allegorical love romance which had been planted upon all Europe by the "Roman de la Rose," to which even the towering genius of Chaucer stooped at times, and which almost completely enslaved Chaucer's followers. There are a few touches of more modern English in Hawes, and there is a certain way of regarding his subject which has encouraged liberal critics to speak of him as at least a half-way house to the "Faerie Queene." The half-way house seems to the present writer to have nearly all its windows turned to the first, not the second, stage of the journey. Hawes is not by any means a despicable poet, but he is altogether of the past, even for his own time.

It is fair to say, however, that the much more original and versatile genius of Skelton shows, in his more elaborate and literary work, exactly the same tendency, if tendency that may be called which refuses to tend. One whole division of his poems—the "Garlande of Laurel," with its delightful minor addresses to the girls of high degree who had, at the Countess of Surrey's bidding, vied in embroidering a gift for the Laureate; the "Bouge of Court," an allegorical satire; the "Dolorous Death of the Earl of Northumberland," and the rest—runs in the ruts of the old poetry quite as much as Hawes. And the

other half—the half which, in a somewhat second-hand way, keeps Skelton's name alive for those who do not care to examine the stately Chaucerian septetts, or the dainty skipping verses to Lady Muriel and Lady Elizabeth Howard, to the two Isabels (Pennell and Knight), to Margery Wentworth, Margaret Tylney, Jane Blennerhassett and Gertrude Statham—though it is fresh and vigorous enough, has no foretaste of Elizabethan form in it. "The Tunning of Elynour Rummynge" (anticipating and bettering Smollett at his filthiest, but full of masterstrokes), "Why come ye not to Court?" with its fearless onslaught on the all-powerful favourite; the illiberal but genuine and patriotic shout over the Rout of the Duke of Albany and his Scots and Frenchmen at "the water of Tweed"—these and minor things are written in a curious short skipping doggerel, which has preserved the name of Skeltonian, but which as little as anything of the time shows the influence of the real Renaissance, the influence which was to unite scholarship with vigour in poetry.

The Study of Foreign Tongues.

Yet in the very time of these two poets, and partly by the means of one of them—for Skelton was no idle translator—the seeds of this Renaissance in England were being sown broadcast. Everybody, to adopt a pardonable exaggeration, was reading French, Italian, German, Spanish, Latin, Greek—but especially Italian and the classics—and applying their lessons to English. The great influence of the teaching of Greek, first at Oxford and then at Cambridge, has been referred to. The range and vigour of the more modern studies of the time may be exampled by the excellent John Palsgrave, d. 1554, who not only was responsible for an "Eclaircissement de la Langue Françoise" (1530), historically very valuable, but translated (1546) what is, perhaps, the most brilliant of Renaissance Latin comedies, the "Acolastus" of the Dutchmen, Wilelm Volder, *alias* Fullonius, *alias* Gnapheus. A French grammar had been, a little earlier, published by Alexander Barclay (d. 1552), a Scot—probably a Cambridge man, certainly a chaplain of St Mary Ottery in Devon and a monk of Ely, an adapter of Eclogues (said to be the first in English, after Æneas Silvius and Mantuanus), and best of all known as the translator (1509) of Sebastian Brant's "Narrenschiff." Barclay, who seems to have been somewhat vagrant in taste, was subsequently a Franciscan at Canterbury, and after

Alexander Barclay.

the dissolution of the monasteries held divers secular benefices. But the range of his studies is more significant of the time than of any personal impulse. It was, indeed, a time which was "making itself" (to use the famous phrase in reference to the youth of Sir Walter Scott) in almost every direction; and the positive interest of its achievements, or of most of them, is not nearly so remarkable as their comparative importance in the history of literature. Independently of the foreign scholars

A BIBLIOPHILE.
(*Barclay*, "*Ship of Fools*," 1509.)

Variety of Attempt.

who, chiefly in Latin, set examples to the English writers, such as Bernard André and Polydore Vergil; of the reforming controversialists, with Tyndale and Roy at their head, who helped to bring literature, or something like literature, in the vernacular, home to the vulgar; of the early translators of the Bible, among whom, of course, Tyndale himself is to be reckoned; of the half-historians, half-chroniclers, like Fabyan, Hall, and Grafton, some writers who, without being beholden to their matter or the novelty of their form in English, would have been at any time

noteworthy for their purely literary talents, appeared in the reign of Henry VIII. There was Leland, the topographer; there was Sir Thomas Elyot, author of the remarkable book—partly political, but mainly dealing with the education of a gentleman—called "The Governor" (1531; p. 124); there was Latimer, raciest of preachers, and an ancestor of a line of vernacular English writers which includes Bunyan, Defoe, and Cobbett. There were the early dramatists, partly writers of moralities and interludes, the chief of whom was John Heywood (1497—1575); partly anticipators of the actual drama, like Nicholas Udall (d. 1556), who, in apparent imitation of the Terentian or Plautine style, or, more probably still, of the Renaissance Latin imitations of it, stumbled on *Ralph Roister Doister* (in 1540), and thereby wrote what has been generally and justly held to be the first English comedy.

The Four Chief Writers.

But in a very brief notice of the literature of this period more than in such a notice of almost any other, it is difficult to avoid committing two mistakes: mentioning authors of really second-rate importance, without sufficient detail, for which there is no room, and omitting others of hardly less importance altogether. It will, therefore, be better to end with four persons who, if none of them is actually first-rate, all have intrinsic worth beyond the common, who represent (Sackville being postponed as more properly Elizabethan) the highest achievements in English prose and verse of the century before the accession of Elizabeth, and who, in the case of three of them at least, either actually display or very closely foreshadow the innovations in prose and verse style which were to introduce those great ages of English literature to which Chaucer alone, of all the forerunners, had distinctly pointed. These four names are those of More, Ascham, Wyatt, and Surrey; the first writing comparatively early, and more noteworthy for matter than for form; the second party belonging to the period, and very characteristic of it; the third and fourth unpublished till its very end, but exemplifying in point of composition and influence the heart of it all.

The lives of these four are much better known than those of most of the authors previously mentioned; and that More in 1535, and Surrey in 1547, died on the scaffold, victims of Henry's capricious despotism, is, perhaps, the best known fact

of all. Wyatt, a man of position and a prominent diplomatist, had more than one escape of a similar fate, and was perhaps fortunate in the opportunity of dying quietly in 1542, having hardly reached middle age. Ascham, too, was of the Court circle, but his humbler rank, or his greater prudence, protected him, and he outlived the terrors both of Henry VIII. and Mary. His well-known "Toxophilus" (1540) dates from this period, and, though a little more vernacular than the later "Scholemaster," is an excellent example of the style which scholarly Englishmen, conscious of the superiority of classic models but not willing to make English a mere copy of Greek and Latin, were at the time writing in considerable quantity, though seldom with such taste or such judgment as Ascham's.

Ascham.

More.

As for the elder, and, in non-literary matters, more illustrious prose-writer, it may, perhaps, seem odd that his greatest work—the only work by which he is generally known—was not written in English at all. The "Utopia" first printed (abroad) in 1516, was written by More in Latin, and was first introduced "in the English tongue to English men" long after its author's death, in a version by Ralph Robinson in 1551. As a matter of fact, More was a voluminous writer enough in English prose (he wrote in verse, too), the great bulk of it consisting of controversial pamphlets against the Lutherans, though he also left a "History of Edward V. and Richard III.," and other matter. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, posterity, which is very generally though not always right, has been right in fixing on the "Utopia," which he never wrote in English, as his chief contribution to English literature. For it is almost the earliest exposition by an Englishman of the spirit of the earlier English Renaissance. More was an Oxford man, deeply imbued with Oxford Humanism; and in this little treatise (in form a kind of sketch of a Platonic commonwealth) he has exemplified at once the religious liberalism (free in his case from any laxity of belief), the comparative spirit in regard to ancient and modern literatures and institutions, the enthusiasm excited by the discovery of a New World—all the ingredients, in short, of the fermenting mixture which was at work on the national mind (p. 160).

The literary position of the two poets was different and more distinct—being concerned almost entirely with form. Their

THE MORE FAMILY, FROM THE SKETCH BY HOLBEIN AT BASLE MUSEUM.

Wyatt and Surrey.

work, first presented together to the public, as above observed in 1557, by "Tottel's Miscellany," was of considerably earlier date. Wyatt, so far as we know, introduced the sonnet into English; Surrey, so far as we know, introduced regular decasyllabic blank verse. Both are sometimes said to have introduced a "New Prosody"—a phrase which is capable of being used in a rather misleading manner, though it is here right enough in intention. Strictly speaking, it is impossible to introduce a new prosody into any language; for prosody is an inseparable accident, if not an essential property, of every language, as it is developed by its own organic growth. The followers of Wyatt and Surrey did endeavour to introduce a new prosody—sapphics, hexameters, alcaics, and what not—and failed as they were bound to fail. All that Surrey and Wyatt themselves did was to tighten up the bearings (if we may so speak) of English verse on the lines which the greatest English poets had themselves used, but which had been neglected or carelessly misused by their followers. The decasyllable, which was their staple metre, was the decasyllable of Chaucer, adjusted at first, especially by Wyatt, to the awkwardly enough altered pronunciation of the language. The Alexandrines and Fourteeners with which they varied it were also nothing radically novel. But they discouraged the mere doggerel—alliterative or other—which had survived the Chaucerian reforms, and had been specially patronised in different forms by Skelton and by the Scotch poets; and they rejected the loose versification (whether due to imperfect printing or not is a question differed upon by experts) which is remarkable in the printed work of Hawes. The Italian models which they studied, and still more the great Italian form of the sonnet which they introduced and cultivated, must have been of inestimable service in assisting them to observe this increased exactitude. At the same time, their anxiety to be accurate led them occasionally to wrest accentuation, to force rhyme, and in other ways to distort and play tricks with their mother-tongue.

But this drawback, such as it was, was as nothing compared to the advantages which they gained. Whether Wyatt, at least, had a very good ear may be doubted; some of his experiments hardly look like it. But Surrey was evidently a born master of metre, and his elder contemporary was saved

by his models from the stumbles to which he was naturally rather inclined. Both, moreover, had either by idiosyncrasy, or by saturating themselves with the spirit of these models, attained to a heat of poetical (chiefly amatory) conception, which enabled them to present their poetry in a fused and shapen form far different from the half-inarticulate utterings

HAC frustrati nostris Babylonici pestiferi
HAC prauia ad Styg
HOC Scotus & Gallus frustr
Subiecti Domino colla
VE RI TA S
VI CI NT
Reioyse Englande, be gladde and merie,
TROTHE ouercommeth thyne enemyes all,
The Scot, the Frencheman, the Pope, and hereſie,
OVERCOMMED by Trothe, haue had a fall:
Sticke to the Trothe, and euermere thou ſhall
Through Chriſt, King Henry, the Poke and the Bowe
All maner of enemies, quite ouer throwe.

TITLE-PAGE TO ASCHAM'S "TOXOPHILUS," 1571.

or mutterings of their predecessors. Alliteration on the one hand, and the endless repetition of French allegorising on the other, had brought those predecessors sometimes very near to the verge of nonsense. Skelton in particular (and that not merely in the part of his verse which is popular, satiric, and burlesque) is sometimes very nearly impossible to construe; and, side by side with the nobler passages of such men as the Scotchman Dunbar, we often find other passages where words

seem to be used, if not with no meaning at all, at any rate in a reckless fashion of "piling up," very much as a child smears the colours from its paint-box one over another.

All this Wyatt and Surrey changed; at least, of the change of all this they set an example which, slowly and not very promisingly followed, produced at last, after the transitional and undecided though fine work of Sackville, the magnificent poetical medium of Spenser. The companions who appeared with them in "Tottel's Miscellany," and who, with others of the same kind, peopled English literature during the third quarter of the century, were for the most part poor if respectable creatures. No one, except Sackville himself, had the least spark of divine fire. But the hearth for the reception of that fire had been laid, the implements and materials for its maintenance and adjustment had been fashioned or collected.

This was, in short, to recur to the point from which we started, the office of the whole period, though it was not so strikingly or thoroughly performed by any man in prose as by these two men in verse. Indeed, it was nearly a full century, or more than a full century (according as Jonson with some, or Cowley with others, is taken to be the Wyatt of English prose), that prose itself was thoroughly reformed. But the whole period was one, if not of eager experiment—it had hardly the original genius for that at its disposal—of diligent collection of material, of patient exploration and comparison of what had been done by others, of discontent (not scornful or insolent, but genuine) with the mere following of ancient ways, of attempts to refine and to correct—which were saved from the frequently narrowing tendencies of such attempts by the abundance and variety of the new interests and the new matter upon which the slowly increasing literary scholarship of the age had to work. To read Skelton and then to read Surrey—even to read Hawes and then to read Wyatt—is to pass at once and with the most vivid sensation of change from one age of literature to another; it might indeed almost seem that something had been skipped in the passing—that there must be a transition period somewhere—so abrupt and marked is the change. It is not possible—for reasons already given, and for others which, no doubt, depend upon the accidents of personality—to arrange any such striking contrast in prose; but both could hardly be expected.

Character of the Period.

On the whole, this most interesting period has hitherto had scant attention from professed historians and scantier study from ordinary students. Yet at no time, perhaps, has the spirit of literature, such as it was, been more thoroughly a spirit of the age; and at none has it been more closely connected with the production of the greater things that were to come.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

SIR THOMAS WYATT THE ELDER.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

H. FRANK HEATH. Scottish Literature.

In the last chapter we left the brilliant Gawin Douglas after his first attempt in literature, made when he was a very young man (Vol. II., p. 711). The "Palice of Honour" was an elaborate allegory with little to recommend it but its high purpose, its descriptions of natural scenes, and its occasional gleams of humour. The Palace of Venus reminds one of "The House of Fame"; the constant allegory is a feature common to a score of works which excel this one, but the grotesque detail with which the beauty in ugliness, the more dreary, wilder aspects of Nature are described, and the humorous passages, such as that upon contemporary literature, give a distinctive flavour which makes the "Palice of Honour" better reading

Gawin Douglas's Later Works: His "Aeneid."

than many works of higher artistic attainment. And this in spite of the general similarity of the plan to the "House of Fame." Douglas was a poet stricken with the love of affairs, a taste he afterwards paid for dearly. His family pride and his ambition were more constantly with him than his muse, and it was not till a dozen years later [1] that his translation of the "Aeneid" (1513) appeared. This work is one of the clearest signs of the passing of the literary middle ages. The forms were still medieval, but Douglas was a pioneer in the critical methods of the Humanists. Chaucer's translation of Boethius, judged by modern standards, was slipshod and careless. Caxton's "Recueil of the History of Troy," and "Eneydos" were nothing more than translations of French romances.[2] Douglas's was the first serious attempt at a faithful rendering of a great classical author. He has a true appreciation of the beauties of the Virgilian verse, and is able to put himself at the author's point of view. He insists that Chaucer was wrong in blaming Aeneas for the desertion of Dido—the traditional medieval view—for the hero only acted at the bidding of the gods :—

> "Certes Virgill schawis Enee did na thing
> Frome Dido of Cartaige at his departing,
> Bot quhilk the goddes commandit him to forne;
> And gif that thair command maid him mansworne,
> That war repreif to thair diuinite
> And na reproche unto the said Enee."

It is true that he does not scruple to change the local colour of the original to make the appeal to his countrymen livelier, but he quotes Horace and Boccaccio in his support. He therefore has no hesitation in making the Sibyl a lady of religion who advises Aeneas to "tell his beads," [3] or in talking of the "nuns of Bacchus." It is true that the commentary which he commenced and did not carry further than the first book shows him to have been not only a humanist, but a bishop, for he remarks on the passage quoted above—

[1] *Cf.* the "Dyrection of his Buik," prefixed to the translation.

[2] The "Recueil des Histoires de Troyes" (1464) of Raoul Lefevre, and the "Eneydos" (1490) of Guillaume de Roy.

[3] *Cf.* Michael Angelo's picture of the company of Sibyls in the Sistine Chapel.

"This argument excusis nocht the tratory of Eneas na his maynswaryng, considering quhat is said heirafoir . . . . that is—

Juno nor Venus goddess neuer wer, *etc.*

It followis than that Eneas vroucht not be command of ony goddis, bot of his awyn fre wyl, be the permission of God, quhilk sufferis al thing and stoppis nocht, na puttis nocht necessite to fre wyll."

And he explains elsewhere how Jupiter, King of Crete, and Juno, his "sistir and spows," became deities through their identification with the elements, and quotes with evident approval the commentary of Cristoferus Landynus, "that writes morally upon Virgill," and shows how the adventures of Aeneas are but the striving of a "just man" towards the "soveran bonte and gudnes" to be found "in contemplation of godly thingis." But in spite of these medievalisms he is good enough critic to assert that the thirteenth book of Maphaeus Vegius accorded "to the text—

Neuer a deill
Mair than langis to the cart the fyft quheyll,"

and that "hys stile be nocht to Virgill like." He only consents to add a translation of it under the compulsion of "twenty strokes" from the ghost of the enraged Christian continuator. In the "Dyrection of his Buik" he expresses the hope that his translation will be found useful in the grammar schools, and the sense he had that the beauty of his original was so profound—

"Me semyt oft throw the deep sey to waid,
And sa mysty umquhyle this poesy
My spreit was reft half deill in extasy."

The original prologues added to each of the thirteen books deal with a variety of subjects—reflective, critical and descriptive. Some, such as that prefixed to the seventh book, describing the dreariness of winter, and those to the twelfth and thirteenth books, descriptive of May and June landscapes, are certainly the best of Douglas's work. The ninth is interesting as the earliest example of the critical essay. Douglas discusses the verse and diction best suited to the epic, and decides for the heroic measure and a language grave and sententious. The translation and six of the prologues are therefore in the heroic couplet, the remainder in stanzas of varying length. The eighth prologue, a poem which reminds one of Langland, is based on the text,

"Ressoun and rycht is rent by fals rite," and is written in rimed alliterative metre arranged in a thirteen-lined stanza, which is very similar to Dunbar's "Ballad of Kynd Kittok."[1]

Though Douglas does not reach the conciseness of the Roman poet, and seldom renders the pathos of the original, at any rate to the full, yet his style is always vigorous, and in passages of dramatic situation and rapid movement, such as the death of Priam, the funeral games, and even the complaint and death of Dido, he is very successful. Moreover, his translation formed the basis of Surrey's blank-verse version of the first two books, and is, therefore, the first Scotch work to influence literature south of the Tweed. The book was completed in sixteen months from the date of commencement (*cf.* the short epilogue), a rapidity of work which was, perhaps, due to the practice in translation he had given himself in the rendering of the "De Remedio Amoris," a "Scottis" version of which Tanner assigns to him. This work is not extant. He has also been credited with "dramatic poems founded on incidents in sacred history," and "comoedias aliquot," besides other works, but all we know beyond his four extant poems is that Lyndsay, in his "Testament of the Papyngo," speaks of him as the author of five works.

"King Hart."

The date of "King Hart," his third important production, is uncertain. It is generally placed between the "Palice of Honour" and the "Aeneid,"[2] but internal evidence points to a later date, and although he was doubtless too occupied immediately after Flodden for literary work, there was nothing to prevent such a use of his leisure when engaged in the routine work of his bishopric after 1516. Compared with the "Palice of Honour," the tone of the poem is sadder and more self-restrained. It is more reflective and less turgid, the allegory is less complicated, the strophe simpler, and the verse more correct. The subject gives less room for hope, yet the sentiment is sounder and untinged with sentimentality; some passages, such as that in which King Hart takes leave of

[1] In Douglas's poem the ninth line is a long one, like those that precede it; in Dunbar's it is short like those which follow it. Rime order, *a b a b a b a b c d d d c.*

[2] Largely because at the close of the latter work he takes leave of literature.

Youtheid, showing the pathetic sincerity only possible to the man who is looking back to the friend who "man pas."

The idea is old, an allegory of the endless conflict of the spirit with the flesh, the main theme being taken from the allegorical autobiography in verse and prose of his contemporary Octavien de St. Gelais, called "Le Séjour d'Honneur," some suggestions from which had already found their way into the "Palice of Honour." Some of the details are borrowed, such as the battle between Dame Pleasance and King Hart, which is

Photo: A. F. Mackenzie, Birnam.

DUNKELD CATHEDRAL.

similar to the theme of the "Goldyn Targe," and others remind of Piers Plowman. The verse is the eight-lined stanza used by Chaucer. And yet the reserve, the terse expression, the weight laid on action rather than description, the refinement of handling, and, above all, the sincerity of this poem, render it the most personal and the ripest, if not the best, of his work.

The little poem in four stanzas of "rhyme royal," called "Conscience," is a witty "conceit" upon the corruption of the Church worthy of the "Tale of a Tub." The latter part of the Bishop of Dunkeld's life was spent in the hopeless attempt to support the cause of his weak-kneed nephew the

Earl of Angus, who had married Queen Margaret soon after Flodden, and had lost his influence over her almost as quickly. Douglas died as an exile in London in 1522, his last years being chiefly spent in helping his friend Polydore Vergil, the Dean of Wells, in the Scottish portion of his colossal English Chronicle.

Lyndsay.

Sir David Lyndsay (1490–1555) is not so good a poet as Douglas, but is no less interesting as a writer. He had great political insight, a considerable power of putting things pithily, and no small gift of wit, but, like Lydgate, his poetical ambition exceeded his capacity. Lyndsay, indeed, drew his inspiration from Dunbar as Lydgate did from Chaucer, but directly he leaves politics or the life of the times his work becomes bad. His first work, "The Dreme" (1528, in "rhyme royal"; Vol. II., p. 282), is a parody of the Divine Comedy, a picture of the three kingdoms of the world through which the poet is conducted by Dame Remembrance—a sort of summary of things in general ending with a description of Scotland, and a speech from John the Commonweal, who attributes the poverty of the land to robbery and oppression and a lack of justice and policy. The only hope is to have a "gude auld prudent king," for "wo to the realm that hes ower young ane king." The "Complaint to the King" (1529) congratulates him on the acquisition of full power, and "The Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo" (1530) denounces abuses even more boldly. The short poem in which he answers the king's "Flyting" is one of the most outspoken poems ever addressed to a sovereign, whilst one of the best of his satires, in the manner of Dunbar, is "The Complaynt of Bagsche, the Kingis auld Hound, to Bawtie, the Kingis best belovit Dog, and his companions." Of his lighter social satire the most amusing is his "Supplication directit to the Kingis Grace in Contemptioun of Syde Taillis," a poem similar to Lydgate's upon the ladies' headdresses of his day, but far coarser. Both in its good qualities and its defects it reminds one more of Dunbar than any of his pieces. His "Deploration of the Death of Queen Magdalene" (1537) was written on the sad death of James V.'s fragile bride of France, within forty days of her landing in Scotland. Of his longer poems, "The Historie and Testament of Squyer Meldrum" (*c.* 1550), a realistic romance of a con-

temporary gentleman, is the best, and "The Monarche"[1] (1554), the last of the medieval riming guides to knowledge, is the worst. His "Tragedy of the Cardinal" (1547) is a poem on the death of his old schoolfellow Cardinal Beaton, told by himself in the manner of the "Mirror for Magistrates." Two poems, "Kittie's Confessioun," a satire on the confessional, and "Ane description of Peder Coffer," found only in the Bannatyne MS., are not quite certainly his. "The Register of Arms of the Scottish Nobility and Gentry" (1542) is a piece of work done in his capacity as Lyon King-at-Arms.

His most interesting and important work is "Ane Satire of the Three Estaits," the earliest Scottish morality extant. It differs from other plays of the kind, for the allegory is almost completely merged in the satiric element; and besides, the ordinary shadowy personifications of virtues and vices, real Scotch characters are introduced, such as Common Theft the border mosstrooper, Pauper the poor man, the Pardoner and others, all of whom stand out as clearly as the characters in Burns's "Halloween." The same variety in verse-form is used as in other moralities—the real step forward in dramatic evolution being the introduction of concrete characters not only into the interlude, but into the play itself. The play was acted for the first time at Linlithgow on the Feast of Epiphany, 1540, before the king and queen with their Court, and twice subsequently at Cupar and Greenside.

LINDSAY AS LYON KING-AT-ARMS.
(*Jascuy's ed., Paris*, 1558.)

W. S. ROCKSTRO. Music under the earlier Tudors.

UNDER the Tudor Dynasty, the Art of Music made more rapid, as well as more satisfactory, progress than at any previous period in the history of the English Schools. At no time,

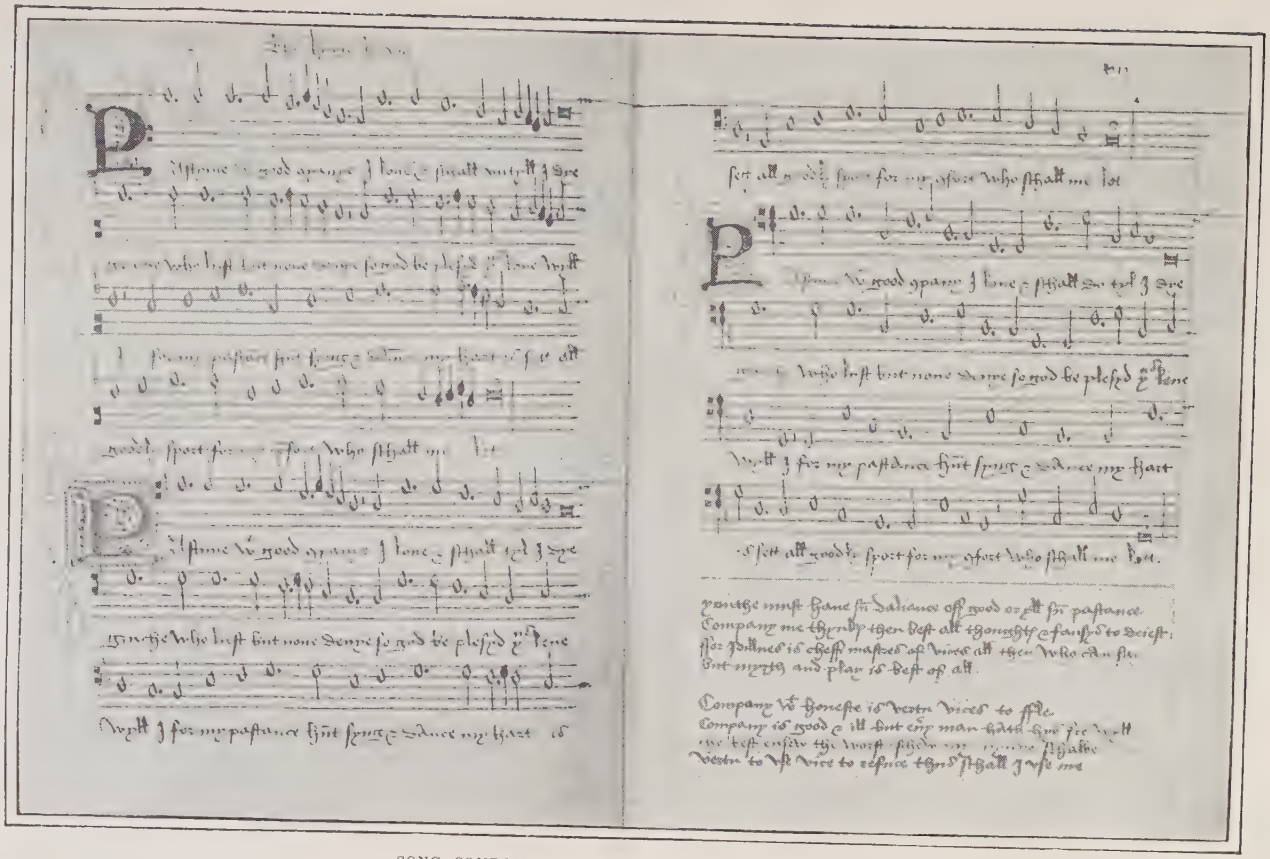
[1] First published in shorter form with the title "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour."

before or since, have our English composers so successfully held their own, in face of the brilliant triumphs achieved in Italy, in Germany, or in the Low Countries. And reasons for this marked advance are not far to seek. Not only had the love of music been long sown broadcast among the people; not only was the art of singing cultivated, with equal zeal and discernment, in every grade of social rank; but the monarchs themselves were among its most ardent admirers, and deservedly took rank among the best musicians of the day. Under the

HENRY VIII. AS A MUSICIAN (MS. Roy. 2 A. xvi.).

personal supervision of King Henry VIII., the music in the Chapel Royal was openly acknowledged, by Ambassadors from other countries, to be the best in Europe. Queen Elizabeth was a noted performer upon the virginals. Her victim, Queen Mary Stuart, was at least her equal in proficiency. What wonder, then, that examples so illustrious led to triumphant success in other quarters?

The *Fifth English School* is, happily, much more fully represented than the third and fourth. When the Wars of the Roses were over, and the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster once more left the kingdom at peace, the progress of Art, which had been fatally interrupted



SONG COMPOSED BY HENRY VIII. (MS. Add. 31,922).

by the disturbed state of the country, was resumed with success so complete that the works produced in England during the earlier half of the sixteenth century will undeniably bear comparison with the best contemporaneous compositions produced either in Italy or the Netherlands. The leader of the Fifth School was John Redford, organist of Old St. Paul's. His most distinguished colleagues were Richard Edmondes, John Shepherde, John Taverner, George Etheridge, Robert Johnson, Robert Parsons, John Thorne, John Merbecke, Mark Smeaton, Thomas Abel, and, by no means the least accomplished of the number, King Henry VIII. Not a few of these composers were noted for reasons quite unconnected with their art. John Merbecke, the author of "The Booke of Common Praier Noted," was a zealous reformer, and suffered severely for his opinions. Mark Smeaton and Thomas Abel were executed for treason; the former in 1536, and the latter in 1540. All were men of undoubted talent. Redford's anthem, "Rejoice in the Lord alway," is one of the finest compositions of its kind in existence. Edmondes' charming madrigal, "In going to my naked bedde," may be fearlessly compared with the most beautiful secular composition of the period, whether produced in the Roman or the Flemish School. King Henry VIII. wrote with the skill of a thoroughly accomplished musician. His anthem, "O Lorde, the Maker of all thyng," is of the highest order of merit; and other compositions by him, preserved in the library of the British Museum and other public collections, rank among the best productions of the time (*p.* 204). Fortunately, the works of most of these composers escaped the consequences of the first spoliation of the cathedral and monastic libraries; but a vast number were destroyed by the Puritans during the progress of the Great Rebellion; and the beauty of those that remain only makes the loss of the rest seem the more deplorable.

W. J. CORBETT Agriculture.

AGRICULTURALLY the reign of Henry VIII. is marked, like that of his predecessors, by a further extension of enclosures for the purpose of sheep-farming. During its course this movement, in fact, reached its climax. For everyone was now convinced from experience that the foot of the sheep would turn

sand into gold; and so not only the lords of the manors and their "fermours," but also the free tenants, and it would appear the copyholders, if they had land enough, were all equally anxious to make as much as possible out of their estates by rooting up tillage and taking to grazing, regarding, as the malcontents said, "their own singular lucre and profit more than the common weal of the realm." In a fashion, as we can see from the Statute-book, Henry VIII. and his ministers set

TENANT PAYING RENT.
(*Fitzherbert, "Boke of Surveying,"* 1523.)

themselves all through the reign to oppose the current tendency, and they were supported by all the preachers and thinkers of the day. But, whatever the efforts made, they were all finally counterbalanced by the king's action in 1536 in suppressing the monasteries and regranting their estates to a new class of owners drawn from the ranks of the merchants. For they, wishing either "to live like lords in the towns" or "to keep riot in their manors for a fortnight or a month," at most, were yet greedier

Enclosure.

for lucre than their predecessors, and less hampered in the pursuit of it by any sentimental feeling towards their tenants. It is to this class, in fact, that Sir Thomas More alludes as "covetous and insatiable cormorants"; for they had begun to buy up farms even before the dissolution of monasteries put nearly a fifteenth part of all the land of England into their hands, and were all along as a body disliked by the rural populations, who contrasted their slender houses and hungry hospitality with the good and continual houses of the honest folk they superseded. This, of course, was quite natural, for they regarded land as a commodity to be dealt with, like any other, for the profit to be gained, and not merely as a source of sustenance—a view which has since become so universal that we can hardly appreciate the storm of anger that greeted its first introduction at this period.

Attempted Checks.

As in his father's reign, Henry VIII. and his advisers seem at first to have been more impressed with the political dangers which might arise from the depopulation of the country than with the social grievances which were obviously being fomented by the continued increase of grazing. The weakening of the realm for defence against the foreign powers who formerly had "much feared its force and puissance," was the side of the matter that seemed to them to call most urgently for interference; and so in 1514, the king issued a proclamation against the "engrossers" of farms, forbidding them to hold more farms than one, and ordering that all the houses of husbandry decayed since the beginning of his father's reign should be once more "put in tillage, and inhabited and dwelt in by husbandmen and labourers according as it was before the engrossing of the said houses."

This was followed up in the succeeding year by an Act embodying the same policy, and practically a repetition of the special Act passed by Henry VII., in 1488, for the Isle of Wight. As this was disregarded, further legislation in 1516 authorised the lords of the fees to seize the moiety of all lands decayed until the husbandry should be re-established. These Acts, it is interesting to note, are almost contemporaneous with the publication of Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," with its denunciations of sheep-farming, and no doubt they were popular. But the Government soon found that to have any

effect they must be followed up, and so in 1517 a Commission of Enquiry was issued to the various counties to obtain accurate information, both of the persons who defied the Acts and of the extent of the evil to be dealt with. The Commission of 1517.

The returns to this inquiry still exist for portions of some fifteen counties, and they enable us to see that the enclosing for sheep that was going on, though pretty general, was not in most places on a very large scale. Occasionally we read of whole hamlets destroyed and their inhabitants driven elsewhere; but on the whole enclosures of over 100 acres are rare, and the great majority are of areas of 30, 40, 60, and 80 acres. This looks as if it was the holdings of the smaller customary tenants that were being absorbed, but whether as the result of eviction or by their own action, or by their submitting to the bullying and bribery which their richer neighbours could no doubt inflict on them, does not appear. Many entries, of course, relate to enclosures of the demesnes either by the lords or by their farmers; but with regard to this part of the manors it would seem that generally their owners had enclosed them, if it was worth doing so at all, long before this, and without their right to do so being disputed; for Fitzherbert, writing in 1523, says that at that time most of the demesnes were enclosed, and does not speak of it as a recent innovation. What the returns of 1517 do not tell us, and what we should particularly like to know, is, How far the lords of the manors appropriated the commons of the villages to themselves or shared them with their more important tenants—for it was this form of enclosing that, carried to excess, must have affected the poorer kinds of tenants most particularly, its tendency being to drive them down into the class of the sturdy beggar and the vagrant, whose increasing numbers were beginning to be a nuisance both to the country and to the Government (pp. 159, 354).

As a sequel to the inquiry we find Wolsey, as a judge in Chancery, in the next year decreeing that those who had admitted infringements of the Acts should pull down their enclosures within forty days. But the effect of this, even if it was obeyed, must have been very temporary, for only a few years later we hear of thirty ploughs that were still decayed, which had existed in Oxfordshire in Henry VII.'s time, while in 1534 the Government were once more driven to begin legislating on the

Further Legislation.

subject. The recitals to the statute of this year show well the kind of grievances that were alleged to be caused by the sheep, and so they may as well be partly quoted. They run thus :—

"Forasmuch as divers persons, to whom God in His goodness hath disposed great plenty, now of late have daily studied and invented ways how they might accumulate into few hands, as well great multitude of farms as great plenty of cattle, and in especial sheep, putting such land to pasture and not tillage; whereby they have not only pulled down churches and towns, and enhanced the rents and fines of land so that no poor man may meddle with it, but also have raised the prices of all manner of agricultural commodities almost double above the prices which hath been accustomed, by reason whereof a marvellous number of the people of this realm be not able to provide for themselves, their wives and children, but be so discouraged with misery and poverty that they fall daily to theft and robbery, or pitifully die for hunger and cold."

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.
(*Barclay*, "*Fifte Eglog*," 1509.)

To remedy all these evils, it was enacted that no one should keep more than 2,000 sheep; while two years later, after the monasteries had been dissolved, another Act was passed binding the new grantees who obtained their lands "to cause to be kept on them honest and continual houses, and to occupy yearly as much of the demesnes in plowing as had been commonly used." As before, disobedience to the Acts was punishable by forfeiture of the land till the neglect was made good, and by a new Act, also passed about this time, the king was given the right to seize the lands into his hands for this purpose instead of the lords of the fee. The Government, therefore, cannot be charged with doing nothing to stop the growth of the evil. But all they did was in vain, for the very persons who had to see that the

Acts were enforced were the justices of the peace, who were themselves probably the worst offenders. These Acts, then, like the former ones, remained a dead letter, being either ignored or evaded: as, for instance, by running a single furrow across a field and declaring that it was ploughed, or by "fathering sheep on children and servants," as John Hales mentions, and so getting within the 2,000 limit. On the whole the Government seem to have recognised their failure, for they attempted no more legislation till the next reign. The new landowners, therefore, were left to do much as they liked with the monastic lands, and by the growth of the discontents and by the frequent references to pasture farms as grievances in the riots and rebellions at the close of Henry's reign, we are led to infer that they made the best use of their opportunity. Nothing, in fact, that the Government could do could really stop them. Latimer might cry, "You landlords, you rent-raisers—I may say you step-lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much!" But he was really struggling against the spirit of the times, which not only into agriculture, but everywhere, was introducing the modern idea of competition and the theory that the weakest must go to the wall. The germ of this idea had been introduced into the country with the new growth of trade in the previous century, and the struggle over the enclosures only marks one of the stages by which England gradually transformed itself into a commercial country.

Their Failure.

Here begynneth a newe tracte or treatyse moost profytable for all husbāde men/and very frutefull for all other persones to rede newly corrected & amended by the auctour/with dyuerse other thynges added thervnto.
Husbondrye

PLOUGHING AN OPEN FIELD.
(*Fitzherbert, "Boke of Husbandrie,"* 1525.)

J. E. SYMES. Commerce and Currency.

THE accession of Henry VIII. was followed by important changes in the policy of the English Government. Chief among these was the change from economy to extravagance. One of the main objects of the old king had been to accumulate wealth. The new king seemed to set himself to squander it as fast as possible. "The time is spent," wrote Queen Katherine to her father Ferdinand of Aragon, "in continual feasting." Revels, masks, tiltings, and other sports were conducted on a scale of unprecedented magnificence (p. 204). A taste for fantastic splendour was one of the characteristics of the Renaissance period; and in this, as in many other respects, the young Henry VIII. was a true son of the age. In 1515 he spent £5,000 on silks and velvets, and £1,500 on plate and jewellery. Other branches of the Court expenditure were conducted on the same luxurious scale, and it must be remembered that the purchasing power of money was then far greater than it is at present. The £5,000 spent in a year on silks and velvets would have supported a thousand families in rude comfort for the same length of time.

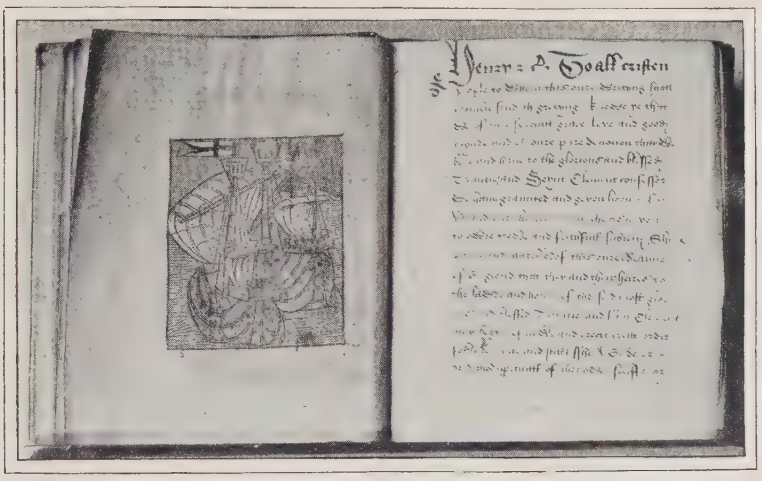
Royal Extravagance and its Effect.

The king's extravagance tended at first to stimulate trade. It raised prices, and encouraged many branches of industry; but, even at first, it probably injured the mass of the wage-earners, by raising the cost of living more than it raised average wages. And, in the long run, it was certainly disastrous to the nation. Taxes had to be levied in order to pay for the king's luxuries, and the war in which he soon got involved (1511) added to the national burdens, and interrupted the growing commerce. Moreover, by persistent reckless expenditure, Henry was led on to the great confiscations and the debasement of the currency —which produced, as we shall see, terrible social evils and disorder. In fact, England passed, during the reign of Henry VIII., from a state of remarkable prosperity and content into one of the utmost industrial misery and confusion.

Foreign Trade.

The early years of Henry's reign were, however, on the whole tolerably prosperous. Our foreign trade continued to grow. The successful rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese (1498) opened to Europe a new route to India, free from the dangers and exactions which had surrounded the overland trade. Henry took a great interest in the Navy. His

fine ship, the *Great Harry*, with its seven tiers of guns one over the other (p. 103), was the wonder of his contemporaries; and he used to insist upon his admirals sending him full particulars as to how each ship worked. But Henry did not adhere to his father's policy of strengthening the Merchant Navy. He suspended the Navigation Acts whenever it suited his convenience to do so—often preferring his own private interest to the encouragement of English shipping. After 1539, however, he fell back upon the policy of his predecessor in this respect, and his interest in foreign trade was also shown by his Charter



CHARTER GRANTED BY HENRY VIII. TO TRINITY HOUSE.

(*By permission of the Elder Brethren.*)

to the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity at Deptford, which practically incorporated the Thames pilots into a guild, and gave them considerable control over "the science and art of mariners." The strong position of England after the peace of 1515 was partly used to promote trade. Henry's alliance was eagerly desired by the rival powers of France and Spain, and the king was thus enabled to secure many privileges for English merchants, especially in the Netherlands.

This illustrates a great change that was taking place in the foreign policy of England. For centuries past our kings had desired to extend their dominions on the Continent; but this

"Expansion." ambition was now to be abandoned. At the beginning of his reign Henry was dazzled by the traditional ideas of the Hundred Years' War; but after 1515 his policy, so far as Europe was concerned, was practically limited to holding the balance between France and Spain; and the national love of conquest soon began to take the form of a desire to acquire possessions in distant lands. Lord Herbert of Cherbury represents some of Henry VIII.'s advisers as arguing:—"When we would enlarge ourselves, let it be . . . by sea. The Indies are discovered, and vast treasures brought from thence every day. Let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherward." This advice may be mythical; but it correctly enough represents the new tendency, the growth of the commercial spirit.

The Problem of Pauperism. We have said that, on the whole, the early years of Henry VIII. were tolerably prosperous. Yet there were soon some ominous signs. The efforts of Parliament to regulate wages, to punish vagabondage, and to repress unlicensed begging indicate the growth of social evils; and the spirit of free inquiry aroused by the Renaissance made it certain that these evils would not be quietly acquiesced in. The treatment of beggars was especially severe (p. 358). Those who were incompetent to work were indeed licensed to beg in specified districts; but able-bodied men found begging were whipped and sent home, and the overseers were bound to find work for them to do. On a second conviction their ears were to be cropped, and on a third they were actually to be put to death.[1] From a quite early period in the reign of Henry VIII. we have distinct signs of growing disorder and discontent. In 1514 the royal treasure

Disorder. waggons were attacked and robbed, and eighty of those concerned in the attack were executed; and in 1517 a London preacher named Bell denounced the aliens who competed with Englishmen on English soil, and in the ferment which his action caused a plot was hatched to massacre the obnoxious foreigners. The scheme was discovered, and when the appointed night drew near, the municipal authorities ordered the citizens to keep within doors between the hours of nine o'clock at night and nine o'clock on the following morning. But the apprentices, armed with clubs, sallied out in great numbers and plundered

[1] The death penalty for the third offence is first enacted in a statute of 1536 (27th Henry VIII. c. 25).

large districts of London, especially the houses inhabited by foreigners (p. 210). The Government succeeded in suppressing the rising; but it evidently shared the ill-feeling towards aliens which had prompted it; and an Act was passed in 1523 forbidding foreigners to take apprentices, and bringing them under the authority of the English Craft Guilds. The general policy of Henry's Government, of which this Act was one manifestation, was to strengthen the Craft Guilds, but, at the same time, to bring them under the direct control of the central or local authorities. Acts of Parliament with this object were passed in 1521, 1523, 1533, and 1534. These Acts, though dealing with different trades, have the common object of strengthening the power and influence of the Guilds; but, on the other hand, the Act of 1531 is directed against attempts on the part of the Guilds to prevent journeymen and others who had served their apprenticeships from starting in business on their own account. The Guild system was evidently in danger of breaking down, and it was necessary to bolster it up by Acts of Parliament, while, at the same time, preventing it from putting excessive hindrances in the way of competition and individual enterprise. Complaints of the "decay of towns" still continued (Vol. II., p. 750), and this decay was still to a great extent due to the tendency of labour and capital to escape from those places where Guild regulations were in full force.

The Government and the Guilds.

This tendency is illustrated by the growth of manufacturing villages. Whilst the old "corporate" towns were decaying, the "villages" of Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield were growing in importance, partly, no doubt, because they were comparatively free from vexatious restrictions. Parliament vainly endeavoured to compel people to work in the old towns. Economic forces were too strong for the Government; in fact, the medieval organisations of labour were breaking down on all sides. The rise in the price of wool was inducing landlords to turn their arable land into pasture (p. 151, *seq.*), and this change involved extensive ejectments of agriculturists. These naturally flocked into whatever employment was open to them, and thus helped, by their competition, to disorganise manufacturing industries.[1]

New Industrial Centres.

[1] It must be remembered, however, that it was natural for contemporaries to overestimate the evils, and underestimate the advantages of the enclosures. *See* Mr. Hewins' remarks on page 356.

In the frequent complaints of journeymen and apprentices we have the beginnings of the long struggle between labour and capital. For the class of capitalist artizans was now developing into a class of capitalist employers, and the demands of foreign trade were encouraging manufacture on a larger scale.

It is perhaps from the pages of the "Utopia" (A.D. 1516)

POET'S CORNER; A BIT OF OLD MANCHESTER.

The "Utopia" and the Social Problem.

that we get the best idea of the social movement that was going on in the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign. The book itself is a romance, a fanciful description of the Kingdom of Nowhere, and of a Social State that existed only in the author's imagination. But that author, Sir Thomas More, was perhaps the best representative of the many-sided activities of the age in which he lived. He was almost equally pre-eminent in intellect, humour, and

morality—as lecturer, author, lawyer, and practical politician. He had been an Oxford student when the new enthusiasm for the study of Greek was at its height, when many believed that the world might be renovated by the new learning. Leaving the University, More lectured on divinity and law. He was elected Speaker of the House of Commons, and led the House in its opposition to the king. Subsequently he became Henry's Chancellor and Chief Minister. Finally he laid down his life for his religion.

UTOPIA REVEALED.

(*From the Basel Edition of* 1518.)

Such a man's criticisms and ideals could not fail to throw an interesting light on the social conditions of his time and country. It was characteristic of the age that he threw his treatise into the form of a traveller's tale. A sailor, who has voyaged in strange seas and among unknown races of men, brings back to England this account of a republic—in some respects ideal, in others a thinly disguised satire on the England of More's time. In "Nowhere" they pay special attention to sanitation, education, and toleration—three things which More evidently considered were specially needed in his own country. The

streets of Utopia are all twenty feet broad, and had large gardens at the backs of all the houses. These houses are well supplied with light, and yet well protected from the cold; only six hours' labour is exacted of any man, but there is also a minimum from which none may escape. Instruction is provided by the State, and that in the early hours of the morning, so that men may study and think before they are tired out with the day's work. The assertion that they have few changes of fashion or of laws is a characteristic protest against the Renaissance love of novelty. An organised regularity of life is set forth in contrast to the growing individualism and competitive anarchy of the sixteenth century. Its love of finery is satirised under the statement that "the Utopians wonder how any man should be so much taken with the glaring, doubtful lustre of a jewel or stone," when he might "look up to a star, or to the sun itself; or how any should value himself because his cloth is made of finer thread; for how fine soever that thread may be, it was once no better than the fleece of a sheep." But above all, More looks with horror on the growing religious intolerance. In Utopia, each man may be of what faith he will. This may seem a somewhat strange ideal to be set forth by one who was to pen bitter attacks on the Protestants, and to die as a martyr to Catholicism. But More's hatred of the "Reformation" was a hatred not for a set of theological opinions, but for a movement which would open up and embitter theological controversies. His intolerance was an intolerance of all that was likely to diminish toleration. He stands between Medievalism and Protestantism, and is almost equally hostile to both. The former had been full of oppressions and abuses. It had passed laws to keep down wages; "so that the wrong already existing (for it is a wrong that those from whom the State derives most benefit should receive least reward) is made yet greater by means of the law." Such abuses More would correct by a complete reform of the medieval organisation, by a quite other sort of Statutes of Labourers than those passed by Plantagenet and Tudor Parliaments But he evidently had no belief in a system of liberty, competition, and what

VIEW OF THE ISLAND OF UTOPIA.

(*From the Basel Edition of* 1518.)

we now call *laissez-faire*. The State must see that its subjects are properly instructed and enabled both to earn a livelihood and to live worthily—otherwise, the masses will have "a life so wretched, that even a beast's life seems enviable." And the social organisation must be spiritualised by a national religion. While there is to be freedom for all religious beliefs, the sects must join in common worship, and that conducted with beautiful and symbolical ritual. It was, no doubt, the sight of the growing commercial competition and social disorder which inspired More's ideal of an organised Society, spiritualised by a common worship. But he naturally failed to understand the forces which were at work around him, and the economic causes of the sufferings he deplored.

The Government and the Crisis.

In every age of industrial transition much misery is caused by the changes in the character of the demand for labour. Time would have partly healed the evils which such changes brought with them, if only the Government had been moderately wise. But in this case the evils were soon greatly aggravated by the action of Henry VIII., and especially by his debasements of the currency and by his great confiscations of the property of monasteries and guilds.

The Debasement of the Coinage.

Extravagant Governments can easily pay their debts, for a time, by issuing coins at a nominal value greater than that of the metal which composes them; but by so doing, they are likely to inflict terrible injuries upon the industries of the nation. It is far cheaper, as a rule, to pay debts by means of loans or taxes than by tampering with the currency, though the temptation to adopt this less open policy is often very great. For the rise in nominal prices which follows upon an at all considerable issue of debased coin temporarily stimulates many industries, and gives a delusive appearance of prosperity, as well as an immediate relief to the Treasury. Henry VIII. was one of the worst of sinners in this respect. There had, indeed, been several debasements of the currency between 1299 and 1464; but these seem to have approximately corresponded with a natural rise in the exchange value of silver, due to a constant flow of the precious metals to the East (which supplied us with many commodities, but took few of ours in return), and to a more injurious flow to Rome, consequent on Papal

exactions and tributes. The stock of silver was thus constantly being reduced, and nominal prices would have fallen very greatly but for the debasements of the coinage. Accordingly while we cannot justify these, we may admit that they exercised a steadying influence on prices, and did not cause much injury to the community. But it was very different with Henry VIII.'s debasements. They were so rapid and on so great a scale that they caused a complete disorganisation of industry and almost incalculable misery. In 1465 twelve ounces of silver (containing

MONEYERS AT WORK.
(*Holinshed's Chronicle*, 1577.)

$11\frac{1}{2}$oz. of fine silver and $\frac{1}{2}$oz. alloy) had been coined into 25 shillings. In 1527 the same amount and quality of silver was coined into 37 shillings. Then followed a series of fresh debasements, affecting both the weight and the quality of the silver, till at length, in A.D. 1551, coins were issued of metal that contained 9 ounces of alloy to every 3 ounces of fine silver, and the 12 ounces of this debased material were coined into 72 shillings. In other words, the shilling issued in 1551 contained less than one-seventh of the amount of fine silver in the shilling of 1527.

This debasement of the coinage was undoubtedly the chief

cause of the great rise in prices in the first half of the sixteenth century. Of course the great discoveries of silver in Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards tended in the same direction.

The Influx of Silver.

At the time of the discovery of America in 1492 it is calculated that the total stock of money (coin) in Europe was only equivalent to about thirty-four millions of pounds sterling. Between 1491 and 1545 this amount was increased by about 50 per cent. Then came the opening of the fertile mines of Cerro and Potosi, and in the ensuing half-century a hundred million pounds' worth of silver poured into Europe, quadrupling the total stock of money. But this silver went in the first instance to Spain, and in the existing state of international trade it only spread very gradually into other countries. Moreover, the great demand for precious metals for purposes of luxury and art swallowed up much of the new stock. Such gatherings as that known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520; p. 3) were typical of the age; and we have already mentioned Henry's love of magnificent display. It seems doubtful, therefore, if English prices were much affected by the silver supplies from America till some years after Elizabeth had come to the throne: but the rise in prices began about the year 1520, and proceeded far more rapidly than the rise in wages. The changes that took place in these respects between the middle of the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. may be gathered from the following table:—

	1495.	1533.
	s. d.	s. d.
Price of a quarter of wheat	4 $0\frac{3}{4}$	7 8
,, ,, malt	2 $4\frac{1}{2}$	5 $5\frac{1}{4}$
,, ,, oats	1 $7\frac{1}{2}$	2 $9\frac{1}{2}$
,, ,, oatmeal	5 4	8 0
	1495.	1533.
Average Weekly Wages:	s. d.	s. d.
Of artisans	3 0	3 6
Of agricultural labourers	2 0	2 3

Even here we find that while agricultural prices had nearly doubled, wages had scarcely increased. But this was before the great issues of debased coin in 1545, 1546, 1549, and 1551 respectively. These threw industry into such confusion that it becomes almost impossible to follow the fluctuations of prices and wages in the latter years of Henry VIII.'s reign,

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD, FROM RELIEFS AT THE HÔTEL BOURGTHÉROULDE, ROUEN.

and in the period immediately following. On the whole, we may say roughly that while wages rose 50 per cent. the prices of necessaries rose considerably more than 100 per cent.[1] But even this was not the worst. Trade was almost a matter of barter, owing to the discredit attached to the legal medium of exchange. Wages were, to a great extent, paid in food, goods were exchanged for goods without any use of money, and many branches of industry which had hitherto flourished were utterly ruined.

The Confiscations.

The consequent misery was much aggravated by the abolition of the monasteries (p. 62 *seq.*) and the spoliation of guild property (p. 177). The monasteries, in spite of all the abuses existing in them, had certainly done much to relieve the poor, the vagrant, and the displaced; though it must be acknowledged that their methods of relief were often injudicious and undiscriminating, and that they did something to create the very poverty which they relieved. Nevertheless, it seems clear that

[1] The following table will illustrate the general conclusion that wages and prices were tolerably stationary during the reign of Henry VII., and the first ten years of the reign of Henry VIII., but that they both rose greatly in the ensuing years, the rise in prices being, however, much greater than that in wages. In order to eliminate temporary and accidental fluctuations, so far as possible, the average wages and prices for periods of ten years are quoted. The first of these decennial periods includes the early years of Henry VII.; the second includes the early years of Henry VIII.; while the third includes the last year of Henry VIII.:—

	Wages. A.D. 1481–1490.	1511–1520.	1541–1550 A.D.
Unskilled labour (daily)	3¾d.	3¾d.	4¼d.
Mason ,,	5¾	6	6¾
Plumber ,,	6	6	7½
Carpenter ,,	6	6¼	7

	Prices. s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Wheat (quarter)	6 3½	0 6 8¾	0 10 8
Barley ,,	4 5¾	0 4 0¼	0 6 2¼
Oats ,,	2 2	0 2 2	0 4 0¼
Oxen (average)	16 0¼	1 3 2	2 2 3¼
Sheep ,,	2 4	0 2 5¾	0 4 11½
Candles (doz. lb.)	1 3	0 1 2½	0 1 7½
Butter ,,	1 0	0 1 6	0 2 0
Table Linen (doz. ells)	7 4½	0 7 2	0 12 0½
Shirtings ,,	5 5½	0 6 5¾	0 8 10
Paper (doz. quires)	2 11	0 2 3	0 3 3
Iron, raw (cwt.)	4 1	0 4 8½	0 5 3
Hay (load)	3 2	0 3 5	0 5 7
Straw ,,	1 6½	0 1 7¾	0 2 4½
Wool (tod)	4 8½	0 6 7¼	1 0 8

The above commodities are selected as typical from the large collection to be found in Thorold Rogers' "History of Agriculture and Prices."

the monasteries would have helped many people to struggle through the difficulties caused by the agricultural and industrial transition and by the debasement of the currency. But the smaller monasteries were suppressed in 1536 and the others in 1539. Only a very small fraction of the wealth thus confiscated was devoted to religious, educational, or charitable purposes. Most of it went to enrich the king or his greedy courtiers. Henry's own share of the ill-gotten spoil was soon squandered, and he then resolved to similarly confiscate the property of the guilds. These bodies had spent part of their income in relieving their poorer members, and in supporting their widows and children. This was a mode of relief preferable in many ways to that given by the monasteries, for it was less likely to be obtained by imposture, or to hinder thrift or undermine independence. And it is probable that at no previous period in their history had so large a number of members of guilds needed this sort of relief as in 1545, when an Act of Parliament authorised the wholesale confiscation of guild property. The excuse made for the Act was that the guilds spent some of their money for purposes which the Royal Defender of the Faith regarded as superstitious; but the real motive was undoubtedly the greed of the king and his friends. Still, it may safely be assumed that this measure of confiscation could not have been carried through Parliament if there had not been a widespread conviction that the guilds had to a great extent outlived their utility, and if their restrictions had not been felt as a grievance by large and influential sections of the community.

Poor Relief.

Henry's Government did very little to relieve the poverty which it had done so much to create. The Act of 1536 ordered local authorities to collect alms on Sundays and holidays, and bade the clergy stir up their congregations to give freely. It also condemned all giving of doles by private persons to beggars and vagrants. But it did nothing to *compel* property-owners to contribute anything to the support of the needy. The only other branch of the Poor Law in the time of Henry VIII. was that which we have already referred to, which provided for the stern repression of vagrants and able-bodied beggars, but gave to the impotent licences to beg, and required overseers to find work for the poor of their district. This last command seems to have become, by the

time we have reached, almost a dead letter. The problem of finding work for the unemployed had to be taken in hand by Parliament. Several laws were passed for the encouragement of different branches of manufacture. Thus a statute of 24 Henry VIII., c. 4, orders "that every person occupying land for tillage shall, for every sixty acres under the plough, sow one-quarter of an acre in flax or hemp." The object of this Act was undoubtedly to create employment, especially for the wives and children of the poor, in linen manufacture. It professes to seek to drive "that most abominable sin of idleness out of the realm." But, like most attempts to create employment by legislation, it seems to have had but little success in diminishing the number of the unemployed. With the same end in view the Government spent some of the money it got from the suppression of the monasteries on public works, such as the laying down of roads and the building of harbours, embankments and fortifications. This, no doubt, provided occupation of a useful sort for some of those who had been out of work. But the spoils were soon squandered, and the condition of the labour market was then worse than ever.

Henry suppressed altogether 644 monasteries, 90 colleges, 2,374 chantries or free chapels, and 110 hospitals. According to one calculation, more than 88,000 persons were cast adrift by the suppression of the first-named alone (*cf.* p. 75). This must have greatly aggravated the existing poverty and the struggle for existence. It is possible that the relieving of a large number of persons from the obligations of celibacy partly accounts for the great increase of the population which undoubtedly took place in Henry's reign. The relaxing of the guild system tended in the same direction, since many of the old regulations as to apprenticeships and other matters had tended to restrict and delay marriages. Moreover, experience proves that people reduced to poverty and desperation often show extraordinary recklessness in bringing children into the world. At any rate, it is estimated that the population of England rose from two and a half millions at the accession of Henry VII. to about four millions at the death of Henry VIII. England had never seen anything like so rapid an increase of population, except, perhaps, in the years that immediately followed the Black Death

Increase of Population.

But while the number of the people was increasing, there seems to have been a falling off in almost all branches of intellectural and moral life. The preachers complained bitterly of the decay of morality. The educational movement which started so energetically at the beginning of the reign practically died out long before its end. The twenty-three years from 1496 had seen the foundation of Brasenose and Corpus Christi Colleges at Oxford; of Jesus', Christ's, St. John's, and Magdalene, at Cambridge; and of Colet's great London Grammar School, St. Paul's. The remaining twenty-eight years of Henry's reign brought only the two great colleges of which Henry himself claimed to be the founder—Christ Church and Trinity. The rich endowments of these were only an insignificant fraction of the money diverted by the king from religious, charitable, and educational purposes. But the intellectual decadence was proved not so much by the comparative paucity of new institutions as by the lack of vitality in the old ones. The foundation of two magnificent colleges did not prevent a steady decay of learning at both the universities. Theological controversy had taken the place of study, and it was soon found that this needed neither much learning nor much morality.

Moral and Intellectual Decline.

Two laws in particular illustrate the social and industrial changes that were going on.

The Statute of Uses (27 Henry VIII., Cap. 10) was an attempt to deal with the practice that had grown up of leaving landed estates "to uses," *i.e.* charged with payments, which in many cases amounted almost to a transfer of the property. The feudal lords (including the Crown) consequently often found it difficult to obtain their dues, *e.g.* on marriages and successions and their wardships. The king suffered not only as the greatest feudal lord, but also from the loss in cases of escheat, etc. The system was sometimes worked in such a way as to defraud creditors, and sometimes so as to evade the various statutes of mortmain. Sometimes, however, it was used for perfectly legitimate objects, such as the making provision for daughters and younger sons, in days when real property was strictly subject to primogeniture and must pass to the heir-at-law. The system had been carried so far as to greatly complicate titles to land, and to make many nominal

Legislation and Society: the Statute of Uses.

owners unable to meet their obligations. The statute created a Parliamentary title with the incidental obligations for those who had hitherto had the use of the estates; but it abolished the right of creating uses for the future. This soon caused serious inconvenience to the landlords, who were now unable to charge their lands for the benefit of their daughters and younger sons; and the new law was eventually evaded by the creation of "trusts." To the extent of its operation, however, it no doubt tended to simplify tenures and titles, and strengthen the position of the landowners and the Crown at the expense of the Church and other corporations.

The Statute of Bankruptcy.

Of a very different character was Henry's Statute of Bankruptcy, which may be regarded as the origin and foundation of our laws on this subject. The growth of English trade had naturally been accompanied by an extension of the practice of giving credit; and this again had given men new opportunities for dishonesty. Henry's Statute established a Court for the trial of defaulters, and for the distribution of their property among creditors. Of Henry's other laws affecting industry, we shall only have space to speak of the Act of 1536,

The "Usury" Problem.

abolishing the old laws against usury, and allowing loans at interest not exceeding ten per cent. In the Middle Ages the Church had condemned the lending money at interest altogether, and this condemnation might be ethically justified in days when there was practically no borrowing for commercial purposes, except by persons in financial difficulties. But the growth of capitalist artisans and capitalist employers had greatly altered the situation. Many now wanted to borrow merely as a matter of convenience. They were not in any particular difficulties, but they saw their way to improving their position by borrowing, even at high interest. The loan would then be a convenience to both parties, and there need be nothing harsh or unfair in the payment of interest. The Act of 1536 simply recognised the new state of things, but by imposing a limit on the rate of interest that might be charged, it made a sort of compromise with the old traditional ideas on the subject. The compromise was illogical, and it was almost certain that it would be evaded; but it marks a new stage of feeling on the subject, and reminds us that this was a period of transition to a more elaborate industrial system.

Here lieth buried Thomas Pownder
Jesu have mercy on his soule
And Jesu Pownder his wife whiche departed
A.D. XXV YERS AND UN DAY OF POUNDYR

BRASS OF THOMAS POWNDER, NOTARY, AND HIS WIFE.

(*St. Mary Quay, Ipswich*, 1525.)

C. R. L. FLETCHER. Town Life under the Earlier Tudors.

When the great explorer, whose fourth centenary Spain celebrated in 1892 with such pomp, went forth to seek Cathay—chiefly in reliance on the prophecies of Isaiah and Seneca[1]—and found a few islands peopled with naked savages instead, he had a very firm idea that he was going to make a great revolution in history; but he was quite wrong as to the direction which that revolution was going to take. The real result of the discovery of America, and of the far more important sea route to India by the Cape, was to make commerce oceanic instead of riparian. "The nations who dwelt upon the ocean," says a recent writer, "were now to be the inheritors of the riches of the world." London and Amsterdam, Cadiz and Lisbon, were to be what the queens of the narrow seas and of the Middle Ages, Lübeck and Venice, Visby and Genoa, had been. It was indeed a great revolution to have begun chiefly in consequence of a "fall" in spice. Yet so it was. The absolute necessity of spices to season food in an age when there were no vegetables to speak of, made the spice trade the most profitable thing of the time. To bring spices to Europe cheaply was the object of all the first pioneers of commerce. A bold "venture" in a ship of Hawkins' or Cabot's might make a merchant prince out of a very small man; and many a merchant prince was the maker of the fortunes of his native town.

England and Ocean Traffic.

The long sleep of the Middle Ages was already broken in many places before Columbus put out over Palos Bar. And if the English towns on the whole were somewhat late sharers in the wealth of the New World, it must never be forgotten that Bristol was in the very vanguard of the advance. It is a curious instance of the spirit that was abroad, that in 1480 two ships sailed from Bristol, as William of Worcester relates, "to find the Island of Brazil." They were out about two months, but were driven back by a storm to the west coast of Ireland.

[1] Venient annis
Sæcula seris,
Quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum
Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
Nec sit terris ultima Thule.
Seneca, "Medea."

From Bristol, too, sailed John Cabot, in 1497, on that expedition which first sighted the mainland of North America (Vol. II., p. 674). And Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, writes (in 1498): "The people of Bristol have, *for the last seven years*, every year sent out two, three, or four light ships in search of the island of Brazil and the seven cities, according to the fancy of these Genoese" (sc. Cabot). It is impossible, when we read such passages as this, to avoid the conclusion of the learned Dr. Ruge, in his "Zeitalter der Entdeckungen," that some real knowledge of the existence of the New World had come to the Old World in pre-Columbian days. But how and whence? At any rate, the enterprise of these Bristol merchants began long before Columbus. The Government of Henry VII. fitfully interested itself in the matter; but the main point that distinguishes the English pioneers from those of the Latin races is that on the whole the former were left to themselves, and private enterprise was of more avail than public. Before the close of the reign of Henry VIII. Robert Thorne (p. 306) had suggested the North-West Passage; the elder Hawkins had embarked on the Guinea trade, which first revived the prosperity of Southampton, declining since the "Flanders galleys" of Venice had ceased to visit it; and Newfoundland had been frequently visited both from Bristol and London.

The Effect on English Towns.

It is wonderful what a complete change in the relative positions of English towns this revolution of commerce produced. Norwich, indeed, clung for a little while to its primacy of the woollen trade, in spite of a terrible fire which almost destroyed the city in 1508; and the increasing population of the Eastern Counties and of London led to a revival of Yarmouth as the great centre of the herring fishery, a position which it has ever since retained. But the Cinque Ports, with the exception of Dover and Hastings, crumbled into rapid decay; great open spaces began to be found within their walls; the grass sprang up between the boulders of the streets of Romney and Winchelsea. York, which had always remained a sort of northern capital, and on whose history, perhaps alone of English cities, the Wars of the Roses had any serious effect, was obliged to plead on one occasion, in the reign of Henry VII., that it was unable to discharge its fee-farm rent to the Crown. Acts of

Henry VIII. continually bear witness to the ruined condition of many ports as well as "uplandish towns." On the other hand, we begin to hear seriously of Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham (p. 159), and Plymouth; and Defoe has traced the establishment of the woollen industries of the West Riding to the importation of foreign artificers to Leeds, Halifax, and Wakefield by King Henry VII. Mr. Cunningham also quotes a characteristic petition of the clothiers of Worcester, Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Bromsgrove, stating that their working men were deserting these towns and beginning to make cloth in the villages.

Trade and the Guild System.

This brings us face to face with a second great cause of the displacement of trade. It seems quite clear that the restrictive policy of the guilds, which has been noticed in an earlier section (Vol. II., p. 560), was driving artisans, and even small capitalist workers, out of the former centres of industry into places where there were no such restrictions (p. 159). When a man had to pay as much as six pounds of the money of that time—as was occasionally the case—before he could be admitted to the guild; when he had to prove descent from a guild member; when he had —as he almost invariably had—to serve a seven years' apprenticeship to a trade he could perhaps learn in as many weeks; when the number of apprentices was limited to two, from which restriction rich masters might free themselves by paying a fine beyond the means of their poorer brethren, it was natural that trade, in the hands of the men who, as Ulrich von Hutten said, were "beginning to awake and live," should seek other channels. But Henry VII., on the afore-mentioned petition being presented to him, sternly answered that no one was to make clothes in Worcestershire outside the said towns. It is characteristic also of the age that side by side with these attempts to repress the rising spirit of competition, there should filter into the English Statute-book one or two enactments indicative of a disposition to favour free trade. Take the following from the Statute 12 Henry VII.:—

The Government and the Towns.

"Whereas the fellowship of the Mercers and other merchants and adventurers dwelling and being free within the City of London, by confederacy amongst themselves, contrary to every Englishman's liberty, to the liberty of the Mart, and to law, reason, charity, right, and conscience, had made an ordinance that none should sell without their consent, except

he first compounded and made fine to them, which had increased from time to time, by reason whereof the cities, towns, and boroughs, had fallen into great poverty—be it enacted that all should freely sell without any exaction for their liberty and freedom to buy and sell, etc."

Such an enactment shows us that the English Government of the time was a Janus-head, looking back often to the past but looking forward also to the future, when freedom of trade should be allowed to everyone, and all corporation and appren-

A CITIZEN.
(*Barclay, "Fifte Eglog,"* 1509.)

ticeship laws should be swept away. It was reserved for the quiet irony of Adam Smith to finish that which Henry VIII. and his son began by the confiscation of the property of almost all the existing craft guilds in the kingdom. London indeed saved her guilds because she was powerful enough to have made a revolution, even against the most absolute Tudor, and would, all honour to her therefor, have certainly made it had her great livery companies been swept away; and one or two other guilds survived, as at Preston, in a condition of picturesque

decay. And, indefensible as the guilds were, desperate hindrances to trade as they had proved themselves to be, valid excuse as the Protestant reformers had for abolishing the superstitious ceremonies with which most of them were connected, the Englishman who has lived in the last decade of the nineteenth century may well pause before he endorses with his approval the commencement of the confiscation of corporate property by Parliamentary enactments.

Interference with the Representation.

Another set of instances of the interference of the Government with the towns occurs before the close of our period. The Ministry of Thomas Cromwell has generally been regarded as the first in which it was discovered that Parliament might be a valuable agent of the royal will, and to manipulate Parliament became in consequence a serious part of the business of the Minister. Henry VIII. did not go as far as his children, and create new boroughs by royal letters, with the right of returning members, but he frequently wrote to the burgesses desiring them to make return of a member whom he nominated. The burgesses of Colchester, on one such occasion, after the usual expressions of devotion and servility, begged to be excused for not complying with his Highness's request; but the probability is that few dared really refuse compliance to the majestic lord who broke the bonds of Rome, and embodied in his own large person, more than any king before him, the feelings and aspirations of the England of his day.

Henry VIII. and Oxford.

There stands a city by the banks of the Thames which owes to him a debt of gratitude which it has not always been willing to recognise, and which is, indeed, capable of being interpreted the reverse way. Charters of one kind and another had been given by Angevin kings to medieval Oxford, and the usual fraternities of vintners and mercers, of tailors and dyers, existed within the walls. But in 1300, when the articles for which English towns were famous were reckoned up by a writer of that year, it is worthy of note that Oxford had attained to celebrity for its schools in popular estimation (Vol. II., p. 89). The University of Oxford was, in fact, the making of the city; but the burgesses were always unwilling to recognise the fact, and long and fierce had been the struggles between the two bodies. It has long been one of the commonplaces of history that "a murderous town and gown row preceded the Barons' War," and

the citizens were annually reminded of their misdeeds by their repeated penances of St. Scholastica's Day. Oxford was not in itself a place of much trade, except as a centre of an agricultural district (the county of Oxford ranked very

OSENEY ABBEY AND ITS LAST ABBOT.

(*By permission of the Dean and Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.*)

high in the table of productiveness in the fifteenth century), and all "unthrifty wares"—*i.e.* foreign luxuries—must have either come by common carrier across the wooded Chilterns from London, or by the slower, and probably hardly less expensive, route up the Thames in barges. It is, however,

a matter of much doubt how far up the Thames was navigable before the sixteenth century, and one cannot help thinking there must have been more than one transhipment of goods between London and Oxford. Certainly the present main stream at the latter place owes its existence to the Abbots of Oseney, who could have had no other reason for undertaking the cutting of new channels than to bring waterborne goods to their own doors. The great Abbeys of Rewley and Oseney formed almost separate towns without the western gate, where now the railway whistle has superseded the vesper bell; the great Abbey of St. Frideswide, and the splendid foundations of both the great Orders of Friars, almost redeemed the southern corner of the city from being classified as the worst slum in Christendom. The colleges and a few scattered houses of other religious orders held the rest. The period before us was witnessing a rapid extension of collegiate foundations; Corpus and Brasenose were being endowed on the lines of the greater foundations of Chichele and Waynflete, and Wolsey was busy with the great institution which was to hand down, as he fondly hoped, to the latest posterity, the name of the one Romish priest who became a Cardinal without ceasing to be an Englishman. Not less illustrious is the fame of the "Oxford Reformers," Colet, Erasmus, and More.

The Charter of 1523.

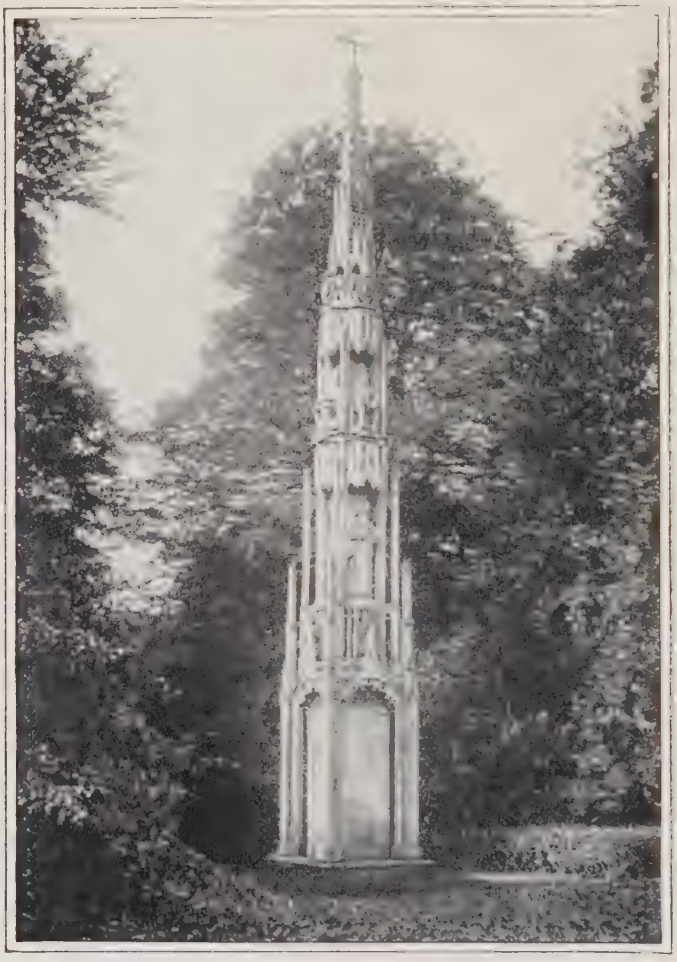
Small wonder then that King Henry VIII. or his ministers looked forward to closing for ever the disputes between city and university by the grant of the famous Charter of 1523. We may fairly attribute to Wolsey this great privilege granted to learning, which, as the late Mr. Boase said, "virtually placed the greater part of the city at their (*i.e.* the chancellor's and scholars') mercy." All persons on whom the university chose to confer the privilege were exempted from having to apply to the city for permission to carry on business, and, practically, no appeal against the sentence of the chancellor or his commissary was allowed. The mayor of the city was obliged at his election to take an oath, in St. Mary's Church, to maintain the privileges and customs of the university. One mayor refused, and was promptly excommunicated. The proctors exercised—unjustly, said the citizens—the power of "discommonsing" any tradesman whom they suspected of unjust dealing; and

even laid tolls upon "every horse-load of *fresh salmon*" coming into the city. Frequent appeals to the Privy Council and Parliament on the part of the city produced little effect, and the Charter of Elizabeth, which is still in force, virtually reaffirmed the Charter of Wolsey.

The Relative Positions of the Towns.

It may perhaps be interesting, while we are considering the relative positions of English towns, to quote from Professor Rogers the figures of the assessment of 1503, although, as was stated in a former section (Vol. II., p. 564), such figures must always be received with the greater caution, because temporary accidents (such as fires) continually altered the relative paying-capacity of the towns. In the fourth year of the sixteenth century, then, London (i.) appears assessed only at $3\frac{3}{4}$ times the rate of Bristol (ii.), but, adds Rogers, there had been a great conflagration in London during that year; York (iii.) is next, and is assessed at $\frac{1}{4}$ the amount of London. Lincoln (iv.) it is difficult to understand; it was only in the reign of Edward IV. that Lincoln repeatedly had to be excused from discharging its share of what we should now call Imperial taxation. Gloucester (v.) and Norwich (vi.) occupy relative positions still more difficult to explain. Shrewsbury (vii.), Oxford (viii.), Salisbury (ix.), Coventry (x.), Hull (xi.), Canterbury (xii.), Southampton (xiii.), and Nottingham (xiv.) vary from $\frac{1}{7}$ to $\frac{1}{17}$ the assessment of the metropolis. Then comes a great drop, and Worcester (xv.), Southwark (xvi.) are each put at $\frac{1}{34}$; and Bath (xvii.), the lowest, is at $\frac{1}{47}$ of that rate. One might hazard almost any amount of guesses on such figures as these, and build dogmatic statements upon those guesses, as it was the habit of the author above quoted to do; and it must be acknowledged that, dangerous as this method of treating history is, his guesses were almost always extremely shrewd and clever. But it is better to be content with putting the figures before the reader, and avoiding explanation where such can only be made by a leap in the dark. Let us be content with realising the new position of Bristol, to which attention has already been called. The probability is that in the period of transition before us exceptional circumstances supervening to raise or depress a town or an industry suddenly were, if one may be allowed to use such a paradox, the rule. That these circumstances included to any serious extent sieges

or destructions committed by the rival factions of the Roses there is no great evidence. A town like Tewkesbury or Coventry, or even York, might be occupied by a sudden dash of one



OLD BRISTOL HIGH CROSS.
(By permission of Sir R. Colt Hoare, Bart., Stourhead Park.)

or other of the armies; and it is well known that it was the fear of the march of Margaret's wild Northerners towards London in 1461 that wrecked her cause, and turned many a

good Lancastrian, like Abbot Whethamstede, of St. Albans, into a Yorkist. But that any real traces of the wars remained after a few years of the strong government of the early Tudors is not likely. Bloody and cruel as the kings and nobles were, it was against each other that their rage was chiefly turned. The walls of the cities were usually manned by the citizens themselves, in whose hands the ordinary police and the watchmen were also placed; an although there was in a great many towns a castle, usually (as in the case of Oxford) just outside the wall of the city, and connected therewith by a drawbridge over a moat, it was too much the obvious policy of the Crown to content the powerful middle class for it to be probable that the captains or colonels or knights-at-arms, who might be in temporary possession of Ludlow or Dover, Windsor or Colchester Castle, would allow any wanton injury to be inflicted on the houses of the citizens which lay under command of the castle guns. One or two towns only in England, such as Pomfret and Wallingford, seriously owed their importance to their strategical value. When a noble held a castle as part of his estate, he held it directly from the Crown; and a "licence to crenellate" (*i.e.* fortify) a country-house would rarely be given, needed constant renewing, and might be taken away in a moment. Henry II. (Vol. I., p. 372) had done in England in the twelfth century that which it taxed all the energies of Richelieu and Mazarin to do in France in the seventeenth.

The Inns.

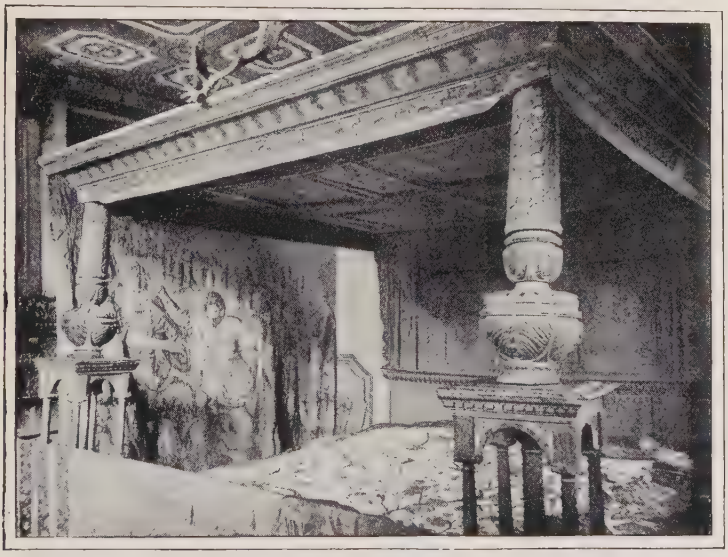
It would be wrong, before quite taking leave of the medieval town, to omit some slight notice of the accommodation which it could afford to strangers. England seems in all ages to have been famous for its inns. All readers of Sterne, and still more of Arthur Young, will remember what a contrast they draw between the comparative comfort and cleanliness of an English inn and the misery of the dogholes provided for travellers in eighteenth-century France; still more will readers of George Borrow recall his expressions of disgust at the unmitigated horrors of a Spanish posada in our own days. We may take the inn of the English roadways in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to have been, as regards arrangement, a cross between Borrow's Spanish posada and a Turkish Khan; while, as regards cleanliness, it was probably superior to both. The chief enemy

to be met with was the flea; and, occasionally, a "great peck of rats and mice." But when travellers slept ten or twelve in a bed, the fleas are perhaps not to be wondered at; and that they did so to a much later period than this the "Great Bed of Ware" still remains as proof positive. Worse than this, however, was the habit of strewing the floor with rushes (p. 229), which were cleaned out but once or twice a year. A certain bishop's journey in the fifteenth century, from London to Falmouth, occupied fourteen days' easy riding—that is, at somewhat under twenty miles a day. now, a bishop would probably be put up in a monastery or a squire's house at most places on the road, as would also a very poor man, or anyone who could pass himself off as one of those innumerable religious beggars and impostors whom M. Jusserand so well describes; but your solid middle-class franklin or tradesman would go to his inn. And it seems that the Heads of Colleges and their attendants, when they went "on progress" to pay a visit to the college estates, usually put up at an inn. When Warden Hoveden, of All Souls, rode to London to withstand Queen Elizabeth in her pride, he put up for a night at Stokenchurch or at Wycombe. Such travellers in the fifteenth century either bought or brought with them their solid provisions, and all they expected from the inn was bed and ale or wine. But in the sixteenth century a change undoubtedly came; and Warden Hoveden's bills always include "dinner so much—horse meat so much—lodging so much." The change probably came with the increased luxury of living which followed the revival of prosperity in the early days of Elizabeth.

Social Changes.

That change must have made itself felt in every stratum of society. But before our present period ends, the revolutionary action of the Government was already pressing hardly upon the poorer classes in town and country alike. That the displacement of trades above referred to was productive of much misery among the artisans is quite obvious. The statutes of the early Tudors bear witness to it in two directions; *first*, in the commencement of an organisation for the relief of the poor (p. 353)—that we meet such statutes long before the dissolution of the monasteries is a sufficient rebutment of the ordinary view that the Poor-laws were a necessary consequence of that dissolution, the fact being that the monasteries themselves were already in

many cases bankrupt, being unable to keep up with the new principle of competition, which was creeping into every department of life; and, *secondly*, in the much greater frequency of statutes against "sturdy beggars, rogues and vagabonds," for whom the whip and the stocks were about the mildest regimen prescribed (p. 357). Such statutes, often repeated, chronicle their own failure. It was not till the revived prosperity of the latter half of the sixteenth century had absorbed these "dangerous classes" and found work for them to do, either in the new



THE GREAT BED OF WARE.

industries of the Western or Northern woollen manufactures, or in "cutting Spanish throats on the golden Spanish main," that these laws really began to do their work upon the few "savage" elements of society that were left—the offscourings and rinsings of the bitter and cruel society of the latter middle ages.

But for the present things were very bad, and it may be a relief to turn from the contemplation of the squalid misery of the unskilled artisan, for whom the new trades could find no employment, from the small guildsman crushed out of existence and undersold by his shrewder neighbour (whom in cruel

The Fair.

mockery he still called "brother" in his craft), against and in contempt for all existing by-laws of the trade-society, to consider a peculiarly medieval institution, of which some squalid survivals still disgrace a few of our provincial towns, the fair. The learned Mr. Cornelius Walford, by dint of unwearied industry, collected and published all that we are ever likely to discover about the greater English fairs. The medieval fair was a sort of enlargement of the idea of the market. Even at the present day there is known to the English law an abstract as well as a concrete conception of a market. Goods bought within the city of London between certain hours of the day are bought in "market overt"; and even though they may have been stolen from their lawful owner, a subsequent purchaser, if acting *bonâ fide* and with no knowledge of the theft, cannot be disquieted for wrongful possession, provided he bought them in "market overt." In most towns there exists—in all there doubtless existed—a large open space which is the property of the corporation, called the market. From those who set up booths in such a place the authorities took a fixed scale of dues, and one of the best-known of those quarrels between the University and City of Oxford already referred to, was upon the claim of the former to inspect the market, a claim which they ultimately made good. Now, at the period before us the reasons for this control over markets, which was represented in the assizes of bread and beer, in the aulnagers (Vol. II., p. 325) and winetasters, were ceasing to exist, and competition was everywhere taking the place of custom, of which the market system was a bulwark. But the principle still survives in the practice of trade marks; and in one instance of the right of a medieval fraternity, the Goldsmiths' company, to affix their "hall-mark" upon all

SIGNAL FOR CHESTER FAIR.
(*Mayer Museum, Liverpool.*)

gold and silver plate. And of late years the Merchandise Marks Act has proved that we were in error in supposing that we were able to walk alone, and look after our own interests. Trade after trade, in fact, seems yearning nowadays for the glorious servitude of the middle ages. Did the middle ages fix the price of labour? restrict the number of hands in a trade? pass statutes against forestallers (*i.e.* those who bought raw material on its way to a market) and regrators (*i.e.* those who tried to create a "corner" in the article in the market itself)? The cry of the day is to have all these restraints back again: to return, with our eyes open, to the gropings of the economically blind.

Now the fair was simply an extension of the principle of the market on a grand scale. It had a twofold object; (i.) the advantage of the person, or corporation, to whose hands the dues from it came (and these would often be considerable); (ii.) the supplying to the consumer of articles that were not to be purchased in the town-market at ordinary times or in sufficient quantities. Therefore, when competition had introduced shopkeepers of every sort and kind to almost every town and considerable village in England, the *raison d'être* of fairs was gone. It is worth remarking that all fairs, though doubtless accompanied with the usual amount of revelry, bear-baiting, etc., were in the middle ages strictly business institutions, and such purely pleasure fairs as May Fair and Greenwich Fair seem to date only from the close of the period we are describing. The origin of each separate fair is often lost in immemorial antiquity,

FORESTALLER IN THE PILLORY.
(From an old Print.)

and, as Mr. Walford points out, the grant of licence to hold the fair, as in that of Edward IV. to the Corporation of London to hold the fair of Southwark, oftener marks the decline of the institution and an attempt to regulate or revive it than the origin thereof. Whether Henry VIII. actually forbade the fair, or merely suspended the jurisdiction of the Corporation of London over it, is not quite clear; but Edward VI. certainly revived it, and it is mentioned in Charles I.'s days as being one of the three great fairs of England.

But of these the great three weeks' fair at Stourbridge, on the outskirts of Cambridge, was far the most important in England (Vol. II., p. 747). Its prosperity was undoubtedly closely bound up with the old medieval trade routes, and with the days when the Netherlands were our chief commercial client; therefore, in the period we are now considering, it was steadily losing its importance. On institutions of this kind the violent rise in prices, owing to the influx of silver from the New World, and Henry VIII.'s infamous treatment of the coinage, must have come with a crash (p. 164, *seq.*).

The Borough Courts.

Before we quit the subject of the towns, it may be interesting to consider the question, what extent of jurisdiction was exercised by the borough courts at the close of the middle ages? The old idea that law was a personal, not a territorial attribute, that a Hanseatic merchant should be tried by his own law within the "stilliard" of his own Fraternity, even if he had broken the peace of King Henry VII. and the crown of a London 'prentice, traces of which idea extended to our own days in the disabilities of an alien and the difficulties attending his naturalisation, seems to have been already almost at an end as regards Englishmen themselves. By the original charter to London and by many subsequent charters to boroughs and cities, a citizen could only be tried in his own husting, or at least within the jurisdiction of his brother citizens ("Et cives non placitabunt ultra muros pro ullo placito," etc.). Had these remained in force, it would have been impossible that one law should be established for all the subjects of the kings of England. A great part of the work of the Tudor kings was, as we know, the enforcing of law equitably (except where their own interests were concerned) on

all Englishmen; but it is probable that even to this late period a great deal of diversity in the powers of the borough courts prevailed. Mr. Worth, in the *Antiquary* for May, 1884, quoted from the ancient records of the borough court of Plymouth some extremely curious suits from the reign of Henry VIII., such as we should certainly expect to find tried by his Majesty's judges of assize, or in his royal courts of Westminster. In one of these a gentleman of the name of John Meyow (? Mayhew) is sued by a lady for £100 damages for breach of promise of marriage, which is surely an early instance of this form of trial. Another case is for slander and defamation of character; another for the sloking (*i.e.* enticing) away a man's wife, who took with her goods to the value of 6s. 8d.—damages claimed, 40s.; value of wife therefore estimated at £1 13s. 4d. Mr. Worth even hazarded the suggestion that this borough court claimed and exercised the right of capital punishment: but this must be regarded as doubtful without further proof adduced.

The Break-up of the Old Order.

If we ask ourselves what impression town life at the close of the middle ages leaves upon us, the answer can hardly be a favourable one. If new towns, new trades were rising in many places, which were in a few decades as far to surpass in wealth and success their medieval predecessors as those had themselves surpassed the mud-walled huts and domestic industries of the first Saxon settlers; if the reign of law and the annihilation of privilege were taking the place of the separatist and ultra-municipal spirit of the time which was passing away, there was still much to regret. Brotherhood, if not of trade with trade, yet at least within the separate trades, had been a very real thing. In widening and extending loves and hatreds, mankind also dilutes them. That which still makes us reject all shallow theories of cosmopolitanism and federation of the world in the present day, hugging our contempt for them and calling it patriotism, worked with a tenfold force on a citizen of York or London before the Reformation.

Still the thing had got to go, and its going made for liberty. But the process of going was horrible. To many thoughtful minds, like Sir Thomas More's, the appearance of competition, the idea of each man seeking to be richer than

his neighbours, was an evil spectre which stalked through the land and must be laid. The burden of the "Utopia"—and it is of course a singular thing that a mind so acute as More's did not see that to reinstate custom on her throne was the most Utopian of all dreams—is that it is contrary to the laws of God and man for each to seek his own profit independently of the profit of the Commonwealth. Latimer's sermons tell the same tale; and it is not, indeed, till the reign of Elizabeth,

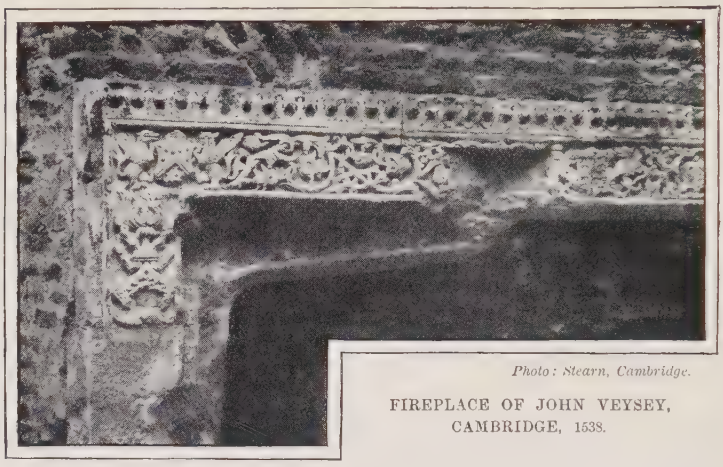


Photo: Stearn, Cambridge.

FIREPLACE OF JOHN VEYSEY, CAMBRIDGE, 1538.

and then only very partially, that one finds competition accepted as a fact, as the mainspring of trade, which was the mainspring of English town life.

CHARLES CREIGHTON. Public Health.

In the time of Henry VIII. plague was a very serious disturber of the public health; from the first to the last year of his reign there were probably not half a dozen summers or autumns for which we lack evidence of plague in London. Some of the years, such as 1513, 1521, 1535, 1543, and 1547, witnessed epidemics of the greater degree in the capital; and during the same period there is evidence of severe mortalities from it at Exeter, Oxford, Canterbury, Bristol, Shrewsbury, Cambridge, York, Doncaster, Newcastle, as well as in the resorts near London and in other country parishes. The records of plague in provincial towns are fuller, indeed,

in the Elizabethan and Stuart periods; but it is probable that the reign of Henry VIII. was a fairly representative time of plague in England, and it will be convenient to state briefly here what were the effects of that disease upon public health and population. There is hardly any point upon which testimony is more concurrent and irrefutable than that plague was a mortal disease of the poorer classes—a veritable shears of Fate, which cut off the fringe of poverty as it grew from time to time, each great epidemic leaving the community richer, on the average, than it found it. One reason of the incidence of plague upon the more indigent was that they alone were unable to escape from the tainted air of the capital or other town; another reason was that they lived more sluttishly, fed more grossly, drank too much, made themselves liable to infection by other excesses, and exposed themselves among the sick or the dead in the way of neighbourly good offices, or in mere indifference, to an extent that their betters could hardly understand. The mortalities of the greater epidemics in London are not known with numerical exactness until that of 1563; but, from the experience of that and many subsequent epidemics in which the figures were kept, it may be safely asserted that, on an average, once in a generation and during a period of three centuries—from the Black Death to the extinction of plague in 1666—the capital lost from a fourth to a sixth of its population at one stroke in a single season, suffering also a drain of its poorer classes from the same cause more or less steadily from year to year. The provincial towns suffered likewise, and sometimes even in a greater ratio of deaths to inhabitants; but for these the authentic figures are nearly all later than our period here. Thus Chester, when its population was mostly housed within its old Roman walls, and could hardly have exceeded 5,000 or 6,000, lost in one epidemic (lasting two years) some 1,300 or 1,500 (the enumerations differ), and on another occasion 2,099; Newcastle, with a population of some 20,000, lost in a single half-year 5,027, besides 515 in Garthside; Colchester with a smaller population, lost, in an epidemic lasting seventeen months, 4,817 from plague, as well as 528 from other causes; Bristol more than once lost what must have been a fourth or a fifth; Leeds,

Plague and its Social Effects.

Manchester, and Lichfield, when the two former were hardly larger than the latter, had mortalities from plague in a single season which ran into four figures; towns like Stamford, Tiverton, and Totnes had their plague-mortalities of 500 or 600; Loughborough had its hundreds, Watford its scores, Eton its tens, and even the hamlet of Stoke Pogis its units.

These figures, as has been said, come from a later time, when numbers were more accurately kept and better preserved; but they suffice to show approximately what the proportion of deaths to population had been in plague-epidemics of the severest degree. Not London only, but most of the provincial towns in their turn, had epidemics of plague which cut off as high a ratio as from a fourth to a sixth of their population, and that fraction the poorest, if not altogether the helpless or the worthless. There is no reason to suppose that the towns were specially unhealthy in any other way; on the other hand, it can be shown that when plague was quiet in London in the Elizabethan period, the christenings exceeded the burials by twenty-five per cent. But any such gain of population was soon swallowed up by the revival of plague; and in a provincial town, such as Chester, which had not the same influx from without as London would always have had, the gaps left by a great plague would have been no more than filled before another plague came. Thus the operation of plague was peculiar; it cut off the fringe of poverty at one ruthless stroke, and when the fringe had grown again, it was again submitted to the shears. Plague may be said to have tended to keep the population low and the average of well-being high; and that had been its steady effect, in the towns, at least, from the fifteenth century onwards.

Preventive Measures.

Plague, having been thus frequent from the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., although it mostly killed only the poor, was a constant menace to the rich; accordingly, measures were taken to restrain it, or to keep it within bounds—measures which had both their intention and their effect not so much to save the people, all and sundry, from plague, as to save one class from the contagion of another. It was characteristic of the Tudor period that the original motive

of these preventive practices was the safety of the sovereign's person. Quarantine, which had already been practised at Venice, Marseilles, the Firth of Forth, and elsewhere, in the ordinary way upon ships and their cargoes and crews, remained for several generations in England an affair of the Court—a restriction upon the access of foreign ambassadors and others to the king's person until forty days had passed since they were last in contact with the plague. Something of the kind was carried out by Henry VII. in the sweating sickness of 1508; and in the severe London plague of 1513 and following years we find the Venetian ambassador forbidden the Court for forty days whenever one or more cases of plague had occurred in his household. To the same period belong also the measures for marking and shutting up houses which had the plague among their inmates. These measures were devised, in the first instance, for London by Henry VIII. himself, and consisted in marking the infected houses with wisps, of keeping all the inmates within doors, or of letting them out on necessary business only on condition that they bore in their hands a white rod for forty days. This practice remained in force in London, as well as in provincial towns and villages, until the last of the plague in 1666, having meanwhile undergone some developments. The wisp upon the house became a St. Anthony's cross, or crutch, at first blue and afterwards red, painted on a small piece of canvas or board, which was fixed to the post of the street door, with the legend under or over the cross, "Lord, have mercy upon us!" The shutting-up became more rigorous; all the windows and doors were kept closed, no one was allowed to leave the house,

Quarantine.

A SICK-BED.
(*Barclay, "Ship of Fools,"* 1509.)

Treatment of Suspected Persons.

watchmen were set to guard it, and food was only introduced in such manner as to avoid contact with the inmates; attendants on the sick and bearers of the dead had to take oath to keep from converse with their families or others, and to bear a white or red rod whenever they went abroad. In Edinburgh the "clengers," or disinfectors of houses, and the bearers of the dead, wore a grey gown marked with a white St. Andrew's cross before and behind, and the two public biers of the city had each a bell mounted on it, which gave warning to people in the streets. At Aberdeen three gibbets were set up, whereon to hang anyone who brought in the plague or gave lodging to infected or suspected persons—"the man to be hangit, the woman drownit," according to the feudal distinction of "pit and gallows" for the respective sexes. In the same city a father was branded on the hand with a hot iron for concealing a case of plague in one of his children. Queen Elizabeth had a gibbet set up at Windsor with the same object, and Charles I. at the gate of the Court at Woodstock. The shut-up was supported out of the municipal funds or by private collections, an Act of Parliament for their more systematic maintenance having been passed in the first year of James I.

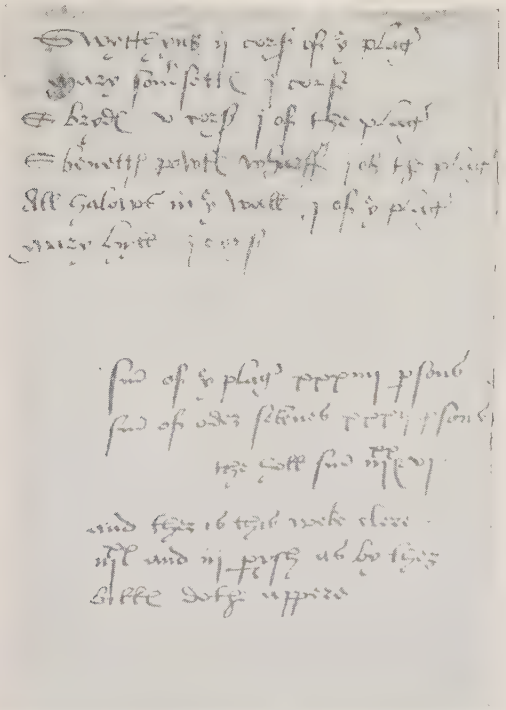
Penalties for Concealment.

Notification and Report.

To give effect to these measures of isolation it was necessary to have early warning of the existence of plague in a house or parish; to that end searchers were appointed —two discreet women in each parish of London—who were sworn, in the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, to make a true report whether the death were one of plague or other cause. The searchers made report to the clerk of the parish, and he to Parish Clerks' Hall, whence was issued a weekly bill of all the deaths from the plague in the several parishes, together with a list of parishes in which there was no plague. The original is extant of one of these bills for the week 6th to 14th August, 1535, showing 105 deaths from plague, and 47 from other causes in sixty-one parishes, with thirty parishes "clear." There is also extant a more primitive-looking bill for a week in November (17th to 23rd), in a year not stated, showing 34 deaths from plague and 32 from other causes in thirty-seven parishes (four of them wholly without the walls, and two at the gates, partly without and partly within), sixty-three parishes of the City and Liberties having no deaths, "as by this bille doth

appere." These extant bills of mortality belong to the reign of Henry VIII.; but the citizens in plague-time seem to have known whether the parishes were "clear" or "not clear" as early as the reign of Edward IV., so that there may have been bills drawn up at an earlier period than any still extant date from.

The earlier Tudor monarchs seem to have put their trust



BILL OF MORTALITY, POSSIBLY OF 1512 (MS. Egerton 2603).

chiefly in quarantine (although Edward III. and Henry V. were vigorous sanitarians); at all events their other preventive measures were far from radical. The blood and offal of the shambles were thought likely to breed or favour infection, and were fulminated against—ineffectually. A great set was made against stray dogs and cats as likely carriers of infection; straw was to be carried from infected houses to the fields to be burned, and the clothes of the infected to be "cured." Three

Sanitation.

times a week, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, twelve bucketsful of water were to be drawn from every pump or well and cast into the kennels to cleanse the streets withal, by an order of Lord Protector Somerset in 1547. The Sanitary Ordinances dating from the reign of Elizabeth are more vigorous, and it is possible that some of them may have been in force under her predecessors also.

The Medical Profession.

The medical profession was not yet identified with sanitary science or preventive medicine. Their patients were all among the well-to-do, who rarely suffered from plague after the first epidemics of it in 1349 and in the latter part of the fourteenth century; but in those earlier plague-times the physicians reaped a golden harvest, like Chaucer's physician, who loved gold in special, and was a close-fisted person to boot: "He kept that he won in the pestilence." In later times, when their rich clients fled from a plague-stricken place, the physicians fled also, because it was not then usual to give gratuitous advice to the poor in any circumstances, however pressing. Nor did they aid the people by their pens; not one of the leading physicians of Henry VIII.'s reign—Linacre, Chambre, Butts, or others—wrote or published a single line upon plague so far as we know. The earliest book on it, containing native experience, is by Dr. Gilbert Skene, of Aberdeen, in 1568, and he has a significant remark about his colleagues: "Medicineirs are mair studious of their awine helthe nor of the common weilthe." It is not until we come to Thomas Lodge, in 1603, that we find a London physician of the first rank remaining at his post, in Warwick Lane, to help the poor, professing that humane view of his art which became usual long after, and deploring the fate of his "poor countrymen left without guide or counsel, how to succour themselves in extremity; for where the infection most rageth there poverty reigneth among the commons, which, having no supplies to satisfy the greedy desires of those that should attend them, are for the most part left desolate to die without relief." Those greedy persons were the empirics, together with some apothecaries and surgeons, who ran the risk for the sake of the gain. The surgeons were mostly occupied with their lancets; their interest in the sanitary aspect of plague was wholly negative, for one of the plague

orders ran: "That no chirurgions or barbers, which use to let blood, do cast the same into the streets or rivers"—as if they had been, in regard to State medicine, mere nuisance-makers like the slaughtermen of St. Nicholas parish.

Henry VIII., who was no mean amateur in physic himself, did much to give physicians and surgeons their professional status. He established the faculty of Physic at Oxford and Cambridge, by founding the Regius Professorships; at an

and the King.

Photo: Walker and Cockerell.

SIR WILLIAM BUTTS.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

earlier date, in 1518, he gave a Charter of Incorporation to Linacre and others as the College of Physicians of London, who were also privileged, by the Act of 1540, to practise surgery. The original members were all graduates of foreign universities; but with their new faculties Oxford and Cambridge began to supply medical graduates to the London College, along with Padua, Montpellier, and afterwards Leyden. It had been already enacted in 1511 that physicians and surgeons, duly examined by the Bishop of London

or the Dean of St. Paul's, with four medical assessors in London, or by the Bishop of the diocese, with skilled aid, in the provinces, should enjoy certain exclusive rights and privileges of practice. The Act related that a great multitude of ignorant persons, as smiths, weavers, and women, attended the sick, administering drugs and other applications, and using sorcery or witchcraft; but whereas it was desirable (as in the preamble of the present Medical Act) that those in need of medical aid should be able to "discern the uncunning from the cunning"; be it, therefore, ordained that only those licensed as above were to exercise the arts of medicine and surgery. However, the surgeons pushed their monopoly too far; and in the preamble of a new Act (1542–43) they were denounced as at once ignorant and exorbitant in their charges and so jealous of their trade that they had sued, troubled, and vexed even those who gave medical advice "to poor people only for neighbourhood's sake and of pity and charity." It was accordingly ordained that any subject of the king may cure outward sores, incomes, wounds, apostemations, outward swellings, or diseases, and administer remedies for stone, strangury, ague, etc., without suit, vexation, trouble or penalty. The surgeons, however, had a certain status as a chartered company of the city of London, having been admitted to the fellowship of, and made one with, the old Company of the Barber-Surgeons (incorporated in the fourteenth century) by the Act of 1540, which at the same time ordained that no barber was to use surgery, and no surgeon to use barbery—the explicit motive being that those who wanted merely to get shaved need not run the risk of going to a practitioner who may have just been treating infectious diseases, such as the plague or the French pox. While the surgeons were thus enabled to dissociate themselves, as it were, from the barbers (and further to assert their learned status by taking every year the bodies of four felons for anatomies), it was the barbers who had helped them to their incorporation and had for two centuries preserved a respectable tradition. This Guild (afterwards the Company) of Barber-Surgeons in London, and the guilds of York, Exeter, Gloucester, Dublin, and other cities, were moulded by the strict discipline of the fifteenth century guilds and Companies—the control of apprentices by masters

HENRY VIII. PRESENTING THE CHARTER TO THE COMPANY OF BARBER SURGEONS.

(By permission of the Worshipful Company of Barbers.)

and of masters by the searchers or the Court of Wardens. They were at least respectable burgesses, and sometimes they rose—as in the case of Morested in London—to great civic influence. They served, also, as a check upon the travelling mountebanks (usually foreigners) who abounded in England; by the statutes of the Guild of Barber-Surgeons of York, a travelling empiric was allowed five days' grace in the city in the way of hospitality to a stranger, but after that he had to get a licence and submit to the same conditions of practice as the resident profession. While the members of the guilds were more respectable than the mountebanks, they were likely to be faster bound to a routine. Perhaps the most recondite part of their education was to learn the twenty points of the superficial veins at which blood should be drawn, and the right vein for each particular disease, together with a highly complex method of casting from tables of numbers, zodiacal diagrams, and the like, the day of the moon, and the hour of the day at which the phlebotomy should be performed (Vol. II., p. 116).

Medical Fees.

There is every reason to think that practitioners in the higher walks, both of medicine and surgery, were well paid in the first Tudor reigns. In 1535 the Venetian ambassador had an illness which cost him, in all, seven hundred ducats, "and for so many physicians," and reduced him to his last ducat. A youth in 1502, whose expenses were paid from the privy purse of the Queen Elizabeth of York, cost as much (20s.) for a surgeon to cure him of the French pox as he cost for his diet and clothes, shoes and linen for a whole twelvemonth, together with a primer and a psalter. The same queen paid to a London surgeon a fee of thirteen shillings and fourpence (money of the time), for visiting her at Richmond. Latimer, in a sermon of 1552, said: "But now, at our time, physic is a remedy prepared only for rich folks, not for the poor; for the poor is not able to wage the physician." One illustration, although it is a few years beyond the limit of the reign, may be added. When Havre was occupied by the English in 1563, and besieged by the Catholic powers, disease broke out among the five thousand English within the town or in the ships, and turned to plague, which in the month of July was destroying them at the rate of more than a hundred in a day. The Earl of Warwick wrote home,

complaining of the lack of surgeons, and was answered by the Privy Council that the cause of the said lack was, that surgeons "required greater entertainment than was allowed," and that the best way to secure their services was to provide an allowance for them out of the soldiers' pay. The Earl of Warwick then made another appeal; he knew of one Colff, an apothecary in Cornwall, skilled in curing the plague, who was willing to leave his family and come to Havre for a hundred pounds. The Privy Council at length ordered surgeons to be sent, with a physician to replace one who had left in ill-health. This physician was Dr. Jeynes, the same who had startled the College of Physicians in London, only three years before, by asserting that Galen was in error in a certain matter, but, being brought to book, had recanted his heresy, and been received back into favour. If it cannot be said that he had the courage of his opinions, he must have had courage of a sort, for he carried his life in his hand when he crossed over to plague-stricken Havre, and he had not been many days there when he died.

M. BATESON
Social Life,
1509 1558.

A VERY black side of the picture of early Tudor morals might be painted if it were well to colour it from such examples as the deep depravities of Henry VIII.'s maturer years, or the less familiar story of the amours of Henry's prototype, Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Brandon's complicated matrimonial history begins with his contract to one Anne Brown: he obtained a dispensation, and then married a widow, and separated from her on three pleas; first, that stung by conscience he had become satisfied of the invalidity of the marriage, inasmuch as he and his wife were in the second and third degrees of affinity; second, that his wife and his first betrothed were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity; third, that he was first cousin once removed of his wife's former husband. Released from the widow, he married Anne Brown. Before she died he committed bigamy by marrying Mary Tudor, the widow of Louis XII. Margaret of Savoy and Lady Lisle had already been among his other loves. On the death of Mary (June, 1533), he married his ward in September. Such a biography, taken in conjunction with the letters of the wife of Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, of the

Tudor Morals.

Howard house, the statement made by Surrey's sister that he, her brother, had proposed to her that she should become the king's mistress, the melancholy history of many unequal or child marriages, all seem to point to the widespread taint of the bad example of the court or to the general laxity of morals. The mischief was largely due to the extraordinary tangle which the canonists had made of the marriage law. Rules had

Photo: Walker and Cockerell.
CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

been invented which made incest and bigamy words of very vague meaning.

Yet to judge the whole nation to be morally corrupt because these things were so, would be wholly misleading. No one can read the words in which Brewer summed up his view of sixteenth century morality without feeling that they must be true. The sixteenth century, he says, "was not a mass of moral corruption out of which life emerged by some process unknown to art or nature; it was not an addled egg cradling a living bird."

The thoughts which did the work of the early sixteenth century were not the thoughts of men steeped in sensuality.

Character of the Nation.

It was an age, to quote the same pre-eminent authority, "instinct with vast animal life, robust health and muscular energy, terrible in its rude and unrefined appetites, its fiery virtues and fierce passions." The stigma which attaches to the court and the court families in Henry VIII.'s time does not attach to the official class which his father had created. The same words of characterisation cannot be used to describe all classes of society. Ambitious, greedy, cruel, unscrupulous, the greater number of Henry's officials undoubtedly were, but only the humbler tools can be branded with yet harsher words. Inasmuch as Henry governed through the official class and not through his courtiers, the nation at large was saved from the worst results of his example. The number of capable statesmen in the ranks of the noble families was indeed so small that Henry had no choice but to seek his ministers amongst the officials trained in his father's traditions. Henry fully recognised the wisdom of ruling by means of the most capable men in his kingdom, especially men who knew that they must submit to his rough handling as part of the price of their offices. Of Cromwell it was said:

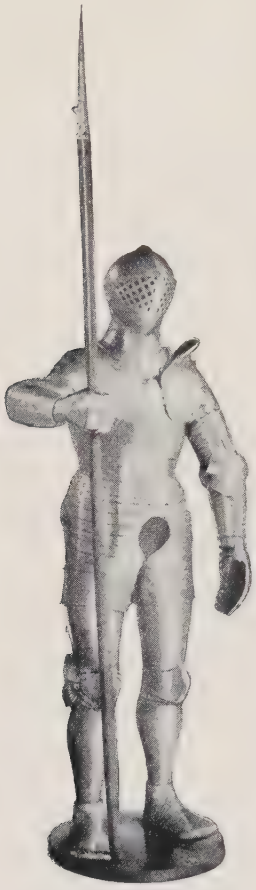
> "The king beknaveth him twice a week, and sometimes knocks him well about the pate; and yet, when he hath been well pomelled about the head and shaken up as it were a dog, he will come out into the great chamber shaking of the bush (*i.e.* from the pomelling), with as merry a countenance as though he might rule all the roast."

The king treated his ministers much as other householders treated their domestic servants. Knocks and blows, with jokes and familiarities, were alike part of the easy domesticity of Henry's court. It is known that he dandled his two-year-old baby, Mary, in the presence chamber, when ambassadors were receiving their audiences.

The Court.

Henry's buoyant spirits and love of display, which contrasted markedly with his father's severe gravity, led to a great increase in the number of costly court entertainments, and in the variety of amusements provided in the early part of the reign. "It was merry in England before the new learning came up." The chronicler and lawyer, Edward Hall, has left a record of the merrymakings in which the king took part, and like the funeral-provider, Machyn, whose diary is important for the next period, he seems to have taken a professional interest in

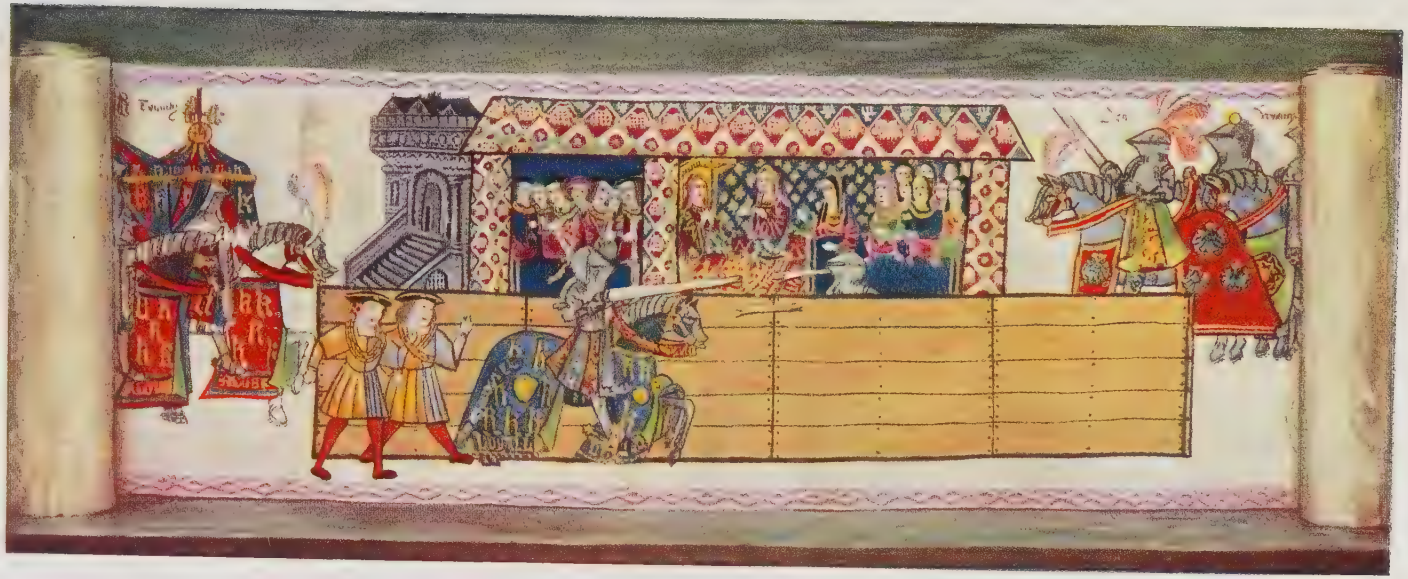
pageants. No detail of spectacular effect escaped him, for he knew the name of every fabric, and how each result was produced. Quotation gives little idea of the wealth of his descriptions. The joust and tournay, with tilting at the ring, suited Henry well in his younger years, for they combined violent exercise with an opportunity for showing off his splendid physique and fine clothes. The joust began with a grand procession, but ended in a serious contest of strength; the king's prowess was matter of common talk, and gave rise to some anxiety, as the risk to his life was thought to be considerable. The king would run a joust of thirty courses without fatigue. It was a pretty sight, it is said, to see the king at such exercises, "his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture." He was indefatigable in dancing, jumping, wrestling, casting the bar; he was a great tennis player, and no less energetic, at quieter moments, in playing on the recorders (pipes), flutes, virginals (spinet), in setting songs to music, harmonising "goodly masses" for five part voices, and in making ballads (p. 148).



HENRY VIII.'S FOOT ARMOUR.
(*Tower of London*)

The amusements in which the ladies of the court had most share were the interludes, mummeries, devices, and "trick-waggons," words the precise meaning of which is now almost lost. The descriptions of the "device," "pageant," "triumph" and "trick-waggon" bring before the eye something between a pantomime transformation scene and a circus procession. A grand gilt waggon brought on the "device," a scene of woodland or mountain, cut out of silk and stuff and coloured paper. On various tiers of the waggon were people standing who represented allegorical or classical characters. When the car

Amusements.



JOUSTS AT WESTMINSTER. FEBRUARY 13TH, 1510.

(By permission of the Chapter, Royal College of Arms.)

had been wheeled into the centre of the hall, the actors, male and female, climbed down and danced, acted, sang, or did feats of skill. There are records extant showing the nature and cost of all the fabrics used, how much vermilion went to paint the

HENRY VIII.'S TILTING ARMOUR.
(*Tower of London.*)

mouths of the beasts, how many ells of cloth to make the beasts' bodies, what number of the properties had been spoilt or might serve for another occasion. The common herd was allowed extraordinary licence on the occasion of court festivities, and scenes of the utmost disorder occurred. The king and nobles

would distribute portions of their finery to the crowd, and in the press and excitement, ladies, and even the king himself, were stript against their will. But after a "banket," Hall says, "all these hurts were turned to laughing and game, and it was thought that all that was taken away was but for honour and largess." It remained for the royal accountant to record the precise damage. A forest or pageant "after its usage at Westminster Hall, by the king's guard and other gentlemen," was rent, broken and by force carried away, and "the poor men that were set to keep it had, two of them, their heads broken, and the remnant was put therefrom by force, so that none thereof but the bare timber came to the king's use or store."

Games.

Complaints against excessive "carding" continue to take a prominent place in the satires on the misdeeds of the wealthy, The clergy—

"Can skill of post[1] and gleek,[2]
Also a pair of dice to troll."

Hall observes that very early in his reign Henry "was much enticed to play at tennis and at dice, which appetite certain crafty persons about him perceiving, brought in Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him, so that he lost much money; but when he perceived their craft, he eschewed their company and let them go." Henry ordered the commons likewise to eschew the tempting games which had long been illegal. An order went out in 1526 that all tables (backgammon-boards), dice, cards and bowls should be taken and burnt, and the people murmured against the Cardinal (Wolsey) saying, "he grudged at every man's pleasure saving his own."

Mystery Plays.

In many of the provincial towns the mystery plays were a principal source of amusement at holiday seasons. At Chester each trade undertook to furnish a given scene, generally chosen with some idea of its suitability for the occupation in question. Thus the water-bearers provided the scene representing the Flood; the butchers, Christ's Temptation; the bakers, the Last Supper; the bowyers, fletchers and stringers, the scene of the Scourging of Christ; the ironmongers and ropers, the Crucifixion, the cooks, tapsters and innkeepers provided "The Harrowing of Hell." Besides these old shows, which by con-

[1] The stakes at cards or dice. [2] A game of cards for three players.

1, 2, 3, recorders, treble, tenor, and bass ; 4, pipe and tabor ; 5, hornpipe ; 6, shawm ; 7, pommer ; 8, 9, crom horns ; 10, 11, 12, cornets.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

(*By permission of the Rev. F. W. Galpin.*)

stant repetition had perhaps become somewhat tedious, there were, in London at all events, plays of a more modern type.

Dramatic Satires.

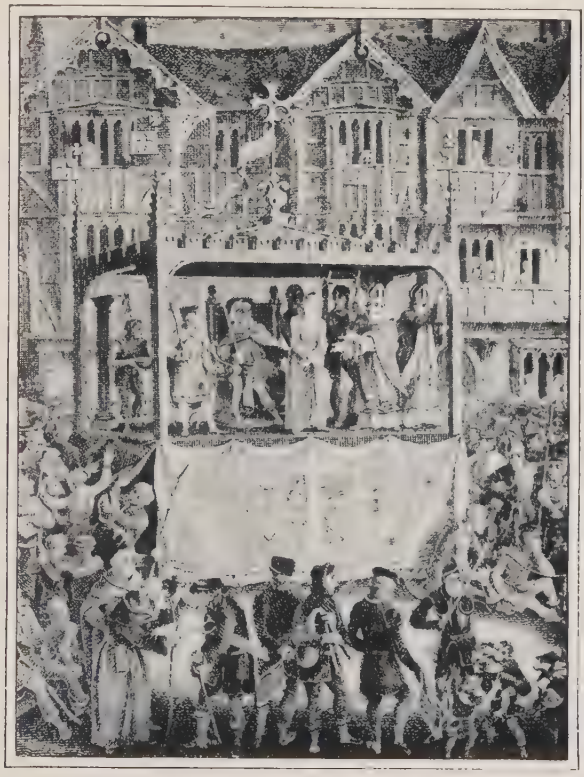
Playwrights had already begun to see in political stirs a means of increasing the interest of their works. In 1528 the King and Queen saw a Latin play acted by children, which opened by showing the Pope in captivity and the Church crushed under foot. By St. Peter's authority the Cardinal brings the Pope to liberty, and sets up the Church again, and frees the French king's children from the emperor who kept them as hostages. "At this play wise men smiled, and thought that it sounded more glorious to the Cardinal than true to the matter indeed." But the time was not far distant when it would be necessary to forbid the commons to play in English, openly or secretly, any kind of interlude, play, dialogue, or other matter set forth in form of play. It was a source of distress to the Government that the "precious jewel, God's Word," should be disputed, rhymed, sung and jangled in every alehouse and tavern, but it was beyond the power of proclamations to stop the tavern-talk over themes which the Government had made of the closest personal interest.

Open-air Pastimes.

Englishmen were satisfied then as now that they alone were free while other men were bond.[1] They believed their burden of taxation to be light as compared with the Frenchman's, and Londoners, at least knew that there were certain limits to their endurance which might not be passed. Hall's account of the Londoners' overthrow of the hedges and ditches set up in the common fields of the growing villages of Islington, Hoxton and Shoreditch, gives a good example of a successful London rising. The enclosures made it impossible for the young men of the city to shoot, and for "ancient persons" to walk for their pleasure in the fields. It was coming to this, that no Londoner was able to go out of the City but in the highways. This saying sorely grieved the Londoners, and suddenly a great number of the citizens assembled themselves, and a turner in a fool's coat came crying through the City, "Shovels and Spades," and so many people followed that it was wonder; and within a short space all the hedges about the towns (*i.e.* villages) were cast down, and the ditches filled and everything made plain, for the workmen were diligent The King's Council, hearing of this,

[1] Hall's Chronicle, p. 696.

came to the Grey Friars, and sent for the Mayor and Council of the City to know the cause. The Mayor explained that the citizens had good cause for complaint, though he wished that the community and young persons "which were dampnified by the noysaunce" had not plucked up and remedied the same with quite



A POPULAR PAGEANT.

so much independence. The Council of the king saw that they must yield, "and so after, the fields were never hedged."

The Feeling against Aliens.

But there were other occasions on which Londoners proved themselves as impotent to control the final issue of events as in the matter of paths and commons they had been powerful. Apprentices, journeymen, and native merchants were satisfied that an expulsion of alien merchants would lead to an immediate improvement in their own position. Every writer on the social

grievances of his time dwelt on the necessity of checking the foreigner's commercial activity in England. Either he should be forbidden to trade, or Englishmen should refuse to buy the worthless goods he sold. The arguments on the other side were never put, but the natural laws that regulate the progress of societies worked relentlessly on, and required no pen to defend them. A general rising of Londoners took place, but was powerless to hinder the course of events. The rumour was spread that on May Day of 1517 all foreigners would be massacred. A popular preacher preached on the text, "The heaven is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; but the earth He has given to the children of men," arguing ingeniously therefrom that it was the duty of Englishmen to defend themselves against aliens; his audience was excited, and at the first scuffle a cry of "Clubs! 'Prentices!" was raised, and the riot began. It ended in fiasco, because of Wolsey's readiness and foresight. The ringleaders were treated with severity, and the rioters were thoroughly frightened. The Lombard, Florentine, Lucchese, and Genoese merchants, the Flemings, Picards, Spanish and Scotch, held their own, and the English mercers, grocers, drapers, goldsmiths, skinners, haberdashers, tailors, leather sellers, pursers, point[1]-makers, gloves, pouch-makers, saddlers, cutlers, pewterers, coopers, girdlers, founders, cordwainers,[2] vintners, spurriers, joiners and all other chapmen, could only resort to petitions to the Council. The lists of goods made by foreigners, on which it was desired that restrictions should be put, included "any manner of girdles, or harness wrought for girdles, points, laces of leather, purses, pouches, pins, gloves; knives, hangers,[3] tailor's shears scissors, andirons, cupboards, tongs, fire-forks, gridirons, locks, keys, hinges, and spurs; painted papers, painted chests, painted images, painted cloths (tapestry); any beaten gold or beaten silver wrought in papers for painters; saddles and harness, brass nails with iron shanks; standing candlesticks, hanging candlesticks, holy water stoops, chafing-dishes, hanging lavers, curtain-rings, cards (combs) for wool (except bone cards, or

Evil May Day.

Protectionism.

[1] Laces which served instead of braces, and which were also used ornamentally. It would seem that they were liable to break when used as braces. A wife sends her husband "a pair of hosen and six dozen points" when he is travelling.

[2] Shoemakers.

[3] The ornamented strap from which the knife or dagger hung.

combs), clasps for gloves, buckles for shoes, brooches, bells (except bells for hawks), spoons of tin and lead, wire chains, grates, hures (caps) and lantern-horns. The wonder is that such a list should ever end, or that any exceptions should be allowed. The foreigners, it is clear, had a large share of the iron, leather, and timber trades, and pre-eminence in artistic productions. Their wainscots, wood work, furniture, and all their small iron work are included in other lists. In the "Discourse of the Common Weal of England," written about 1549, the doctor, whose share in the dialogue is believed to represent the views of Latimer, deals with the same question. His list of necessary imports is: wines, silks, spices, iron, salt. Of exports he names only wool, cloth, leather, tallow, beer, butter, cheese and pewter vessels. The imports which excited his condemnation were "glasses, as well looking as drinking," glass-windows, dials, backgammon-boards, cards, tennis-balls, rattles, puppets (dolls), pen-horns, inkhorns, toothpicks, perfumed gloves, aglets (ornamental tags to laces), buttons of silk and silver, earthen pots, brown and white paper. He tells with great satisfaction a story of a Welsh port, into which came a vessel loaded with a cargo of apples. The inhabitants refused to buy rubbish, that would be wasted in a week, in exchange for the best wares they had in the country, such as friezes, broadcloths and wool; "bring us corn and malt as you were wont to do, and you shall be welcome at all times and have free sale in our port." The learned doctor wishes that all the great English ports would treat in the same fashion the ships that come laden with pippins, oranges or cherries. They might be allowed to take back a cargo of damsons, plums or strawberries, but nothing durable should be sold in exchange for perishable goods.

IRON FIRE-BACK OF 1550.
(*Lewes Museum.*)

The period was one of change and transition, and it is clear from the above lists that English tradesmen were slow to adapt

themselves to the new needs and luxuries of the upper classes. In the fifteenth century England had been more than normally insular, but Henry VIII.'s interest in the doings of the French Court, and his intercourse with his fellow-sovereigns, led to an influx of foreign fashions with which, even at the end of the reign, the English shopkeepers could scarcely keep pace. The doctor in the Discourse complains that no man can be contented with any other gloves than are made in France and Spain, no kersey but it must be of Flanders dye, no brooch nor aglet but of Venice-making, or from Milan, no dagger, sword, girdle or knife but of Spanish making, no, not so much as a spur, but it must be "fetched at the milliner's (Milanese) hand." Although at Bristol the "chiefest mystery" that was exercised in that town was the point-maker's, yet foreign points to trim up hose and decorate doublets were more highly esteemed, and, for similar reasons, the Coventry blue-thread trade was completely gone.

Changes in Costume.

In Wynkyn de Worde's "Galaunt," 1520, the introduction of French fashion is bemoaned at length to the refrain, "England may wail that ever it came here." The principal features of the new style in men's dress were the close-cut hair, which Henry had enforced peremptorily at Court in imitation of Continental sovereigns; the cap and under-cap, the "guarded" and "purfled" cloaks of a new shape, trimmed, edged, or lined with furs as of old; the open shirt or French "chemay"; the open doublet and "petti-coat," or small coat worn underneath the doublet; the falling collar, embroidered in black; lace ruffles falling over the hands; the short "bolstered" and slashed breeches, the "upper-stocks" of the long hose, which were made of thicker stuffs than the "nether-stocks," but generally of the same colour—as, for example, crimson velvet upper-stock and crimson silk nether-stock; the slashed shoes, showing pleats of the bright coloured hose in the slashings; the light "dancing-sword," rapier, or white rod, which excited ridicule or some alarm for the future of the nation in those who remembered the heavy swords of an earlier time. It was noticed by a Venetian that the king wore a beard, contrary to the usual English fashion, 1527. In his reign beards were prohibited at the

Photo: W. Spooner & Co., Strand, W.C.

HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY.

(From the picture attributed to Stretes at Hampton Court Palace.)

"PALMER, PEDLAR, AND POTICARY."

(*John Heywood's Four PP.*, *c.* 1545.)

Lincoln's Inn high table under pain of paying double commons. In all the accessories of men's dress there was great variety, in the "passemyn-" or "parchment-" lace, in the "pinching" or pleating of the partlet or habit-shirt, the quilting of the doublet, the lacing of the "cut and underlaid" portions with gold "points" and aglets, the embroidery of the shirt and vast hanging-sleeves. Men were wearing a great many garments, and for ease and in order to show them, it was fashionable to wear everything open in front. Fitzherbert complains that men have so many pleats upon their breasts and such puffed sleeves that they cannot draw a bow in their coats, and another writes :—

"My doublet is unlaced before,
A stomacher of satin and no more;
Rain it, snow it never so sore
Methinketh I am too hot.
Then have I such a short gown,
With wide sleeves that hang adown,
They would make some lad in this town
A doublet and a coat."

The stuffs most often mentioned in the wardrobe inventories of the nobility are cloth of tissue, russet tinsel, white damask cloth of gold, white silver, velvet, tawny

AN INTERIOR.

(*John Heywood*, "*Spider and Flie*," 1556.)

camlet; doublet-linings were of sarcenet; gown-linings of tinsel, satin, velvet, fur, cloth of silver and gold. Shoes were of black velvet, cloth or leather.

The King's Wardrobe

The king was deemed to be the best dressed sovereign in the world, for he put on new clothes every holy day. Opening Hall's chronicle at haphazard we meet with descriptions of the king's dress that show him apparelled "in a garment of cloth of silver, of damask, ribbed with cloth of gold, so thick as might be; the garment was large and pleated very thick, and cantled of very good intail,[1] of such shape and making that it was marvellous to behold. The courser, too, which his grace rode on, was trapped in a marvellous vesture of a new-devised fashion; the trapper was of fine gold in bullion, curiously wrought, pounced and set with antique work of Romain figures." At this time the dressing of horses was, like the dressing of men, as much an art of the goldsmith as of the tailor. The passion for variety soon spread from the high places to the humbler ranks. The serving-man who had been content to go in a Kendal coat in summer, and a frieze coat in winter, with a plain white hose "mete for his body," by the middle of the century looked to have a coat of the finest cloth to be had for money, hosen of the finest kersey of some French puke, or some strange colour or dye. "Then their coats shall be guarded (*i.e.* trimmed) cut and stitched, and the breeches of their hosen so drawn with silks, that the workmanship shall far pass the price of the stuffs."

KATHARINE PARR.
(*National Gallery.*)

[1] Broken up with good designs.

Female Attire.

The dress of court-ladies was, until the reign of Mary, as simple in its outlines as that of the middle class, and lavishness in goldsmith's work and embroidery alone afforded scope for variety. The gown fitted the body and had an ample, flowing skirt. The satirist on dress has nothing to say against the women more than:

"The streets so sweeping
With women's clothing,
And so much swearing
Saw I never.

Of women kind
Laced behind
So like the fiend
Saw I never."

The stiff diamond hood, with its angular lappets and quasi-monastic gravity was now worn only by elderly ladies. Anne of Cleves came "dressed in the English fashion in a French hood," or chaperon, which was small and without lappets, edged round the face with jewels, beads or lace. Latimer preaching before Edward VI. said: "Paul saith, that a woman ought to have a 'power' on her head . . . this 'power' that some of them have is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it. And when they make them ready and come to the covering of their head, they will say 'Give me my French hood, and give me my bonnet or my cap.' Now here is a vengeance devil; we must have our 'power' from Turkey, of velvet, and gay it must be; far fetched, dear bought, and when it cometh, it is a false sign." Unmarried women did not wear a covering on the head within doors, but drew the hair up into "tussocks" and knots, or plaited it tightly with ribbons. The hair was allowed to flow loose at weddings. Henry's numerous queens passed through the streets to be crowned or married with hair hanging down. After marriage their hair was completely concealed in a hood or folded kerchief. When the moment of execution came, it was the removal of the kerchief that was a woman's necessary thought upon the scaffold.

The sumptuary laws of Henry VIII. are the best evidence for the distinctive dress of the various ranks of society. It was rendered incumbent upon a husband to keep a light horse

furnished for the king's service if his wife wore a gown or petticoat of silk, any velvet in her kirtle or in any lining or part of her gown other than cuffs and purfles (edgings), or any

JANE SEYMOUR.

(*From the picture by Holbein, by permission of his Grace the Duke of Bedford.*)

French hood or bonnet of velvet, with any habiliment (border), paste or edge of gold, pearl or stone, or any chain or gold about her neck or anywhere—a comprehensive list.

Here is a fairly complete description of a rich woman's ordinary day dress: "A gown of tawny camlet with velvet of the same colour turned up, a kirtle of white taffeta and a pair of sleeves of white satin, a frontlet (for the forehead) of crimson velvet lined with crimson satin, an ouch (a jewel) of gold for the collar and sleeves, and a French-white partlet."

In Mary's reign the Spanish farthingale came in to destroy the natural outline of the figure and to develop ultimately into the Elizabethan monstrosities. The Spaniards who came to England on the occasion of Mary's marriage perceived that the English ladies had not yet learned to manage the new fashion properly. "They wear farthingales of coloured cloth without silk; the gowns they wear over them are of damask, satin, or velvet of various colours, but very badly made." Some of them had velvet shoes slashed like men's, "which does not look well to Spanish eyes." "Their stockings are black, and they show their legs even up to their knees, at least when they are travelling, as their skirts are so short." The Spaniards noticed, too, that English women wore a muffler over the lower part of the face, leaving the eyes only exposed, which made them look like nuns, who do not wish to be known. A pithy Spanish judgment on Mary was, "She has no eyebrows, is a perfect saint, and dresses very badly."

Food. Although the reign of Henry VIII. saw the introduction of many novelties in dress which were of Continental origin, in the matter of food the early Tudors followed on lines that were thoroughly medieval. The week divided itself into flesh-days five days a week, and fish-days Friday and Saturday, and the hours and number of meals varied accordingly. Breakfast was not served in every household as a necessary meal, but some noblemen made it a somewhat heavy meal in spite of the fact that dinner was to follow very shortly upon it. The Northumberland household (one of the most detailed examples we have) was unusually late in beginning the day's work. The clerks were to assemble at seven to be "breved" or sent to their duties, and breakfast was not served till half-past eight. Latimer, addressing the nobles, says, "Many complain against you that ye lie abed till eight, or nine, or ten of the clock. I cannot tell what revel ye have over-night, whether in banqueting or dicing or carding, or

Sir Oliver Hyde,
Denchworth, Berks, 1516.

Lady Hyde,
Denchworth, Berks, 1516.

J. Marsham,
Norwich, 1525.

Wife of J. Marsham,
Norwich, 1525.

Wife of Thos. Perys,
Little Barford, Beds. 1535.

Sir T. Savile,
Islington, 1546.

Lady Savile,
Islington, 1546.

BRASSES SHOWING COSTUME OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

how it is; but in the morning when poor suitors come to your houses, ye cannot be spoken withal." On flesh-days the breakfast of my lord Northumberland and his lady was a loaf of bread in trenchers, two manchets (fine white bread), a quart of beer, a quart of wine, a chine of mutton or beef, or boiled beef. For the "mercy" of the children my Lady Margaret and Master Ingram, one manchet, a quart of beer, three mutton-bones boiled. On fish-days, instead of the meat there was a dish of butter, a piece of salt fish, or a dish of buttered eggs. On the "eating" days dinner was between ten and eleven, on fasting days between eleven and twelve. At three o'clock on flesh days there was a "drinking," and supper was over about seven. At nine o'clock a "livery" was served. The hard days were the "scambling days" of Lent—Monday and Saturday—when the servants of the household depended upon what happened to be left from the tables of their superiors. With a view to the claims of these reversioners, the supper provided was in the Northumberland household fairly liberal. The earl and his lady had before them five manchets, a pottel of beer and one of wine, forty sprats, two pieces of salt fish, a quarter of a salt salmon, two slices of turbot, a dish of flounders, a baked turbot, and a dish of fried smelts. The flesh-day dinner included two courses, each of which consisted of savouries and sweets. In a great household, when the lord exceeded his ordinary fare by reason of a feast day or the presence of guests, the first course would be introduced with a "warner" or subtlety, and would be "voided" with another, while spice-plates were handed. The "subtlety" was an erection of wax, and, it would seem, purely decorative; the spices were digestive comfits—"grains of Paradise," or "dragets"; a box of wafers and a pottel of "ipocras," or spiced wine, finished the dinner of the most wealthy. The wines were commonly classed merely as white or red, or, more specifically, as Gascoigne or claret. The stronger wines—Malvoisey, or Candian Malmsey-sack, Alicante, and Rhenish—appear less frequently. The English inexperience of strong wines got the young soldiery into great trouble at the time of the Spanish war (p. 2). Water-drinking was unheard of except in the case of the More family, who were famed for many eccentricities of a strangely modern type. Catherine of

Aragon was solemnly warned before her first marriage to drink no English water.

The most frequent sweets were fritters, custards, tarts, "blankmanges," jelly, cream of almonds; but the appearance of sweets was characteristic only of the tables of the rich. The dinner was served in messes, each mess being shared as a

Table Manners.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell

PRINCESS MARY AT THE AGE OF 28.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

rule by four people; the guest held the meat in his left hand and cut it with the knife in the right.

> "Touch never with your right hand no manner meat surely,
> But with your left hand, as I said afore, for that is goodly."

The handing of the ewer before and after dinner was a serious and purposeful ceremonial. Of table manners perhaps Hall's casual mention of a ceremony at Anne Boleyn's coronation feast may serve to give as graphic an

account as is necessary. On the right side of the Queen's chair stood the Countess of Oxford, widow, and on the left side stood the Countess of Worcester all the dinner season, which divers times in the dinner time did hold a fine cloth before the Queen's face, "when she list to spet or do other wyse at her pleasure." Anne had had, we may be sure, too long a training in court manners to commit a solecism. Howbeit, the English prided themselves a good deal upon their table manners. The Venetians noticed how punctiliously they sat in their order of precedence, and the extraordinary silence of everyone, except in the long pauses between the courses. Polydore Vergil spoke favourably of English manners, saying that they resembled those of Italians.

A SALTCELLAR OF 1518.

(By permission of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers.)

The tables of the richer people were daily provided with silver spoons, cups, and salt-cellars. Those that possessed a great store of family plate displayed it in high cupboards in the banqueting rooms. The plates used at table were commonly of wood or of pewter. Each person used his own knife, carried in his girdle. After dinner strangers were brought to a chamber "cleanly apparelled and dressed," according to the time of year; in summer time the bed was to be covered with pillows and head-sheets in case they would rest; and after this done they must have cheer of novelties in the chamber, as junkets, cherries, pippins, and such novelties as the time of the year requireth, or else green-ginger comfits, with such thing as winter requireth, and sweet wines, ipocras, tyre, or muscadel.

When Philip of Spain visited Queen Mary, after supper, in her closet, he went up by a narrow winding staircase and found a party assembled in a "long narrow room or corridor where they divert themselves." The Spaniards were much amused at the English custom of kissing ladies

on the mouth, and took full advantage of it. Philip kissed all the ladies, and learned how to say "God nihit" to them.

The Standard of Comfort.

There was some spread of comfort among the lower ranks, but certainly the progress was slight compared with what was to come. Poor men were beginning to look for more meat, and to expect a greater variety than before, according to the doctor's Discourse on the commonweal. Time was when a serving man was well content with a piece of beef to last all the week long. Bread and beer were all he needed to eke it out. Tusser bids

> "Good ploughmen look weekly of custom and right
> For roast meat on Sundays and Thursdays at night."

But many poor shepherds lived on nothing but bread, "milk, whig (sour milk), and whey." The rise in prices which had brought an increase of wealth to some, had brought ruin to others, who were unable to adapt themselves to the new economic conditions. Hence, on the one hand we read in the time of the early Tudors of an increase of luxury and comfort, of a higher standard of living, and at the same time we hear a louder outcry from those who saw or felt the miseries of the very poor than is heard in the literature of any earlier period or in the succeeding Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. In estimating the general conditions of society in Henry's reign the two opposite tendencies have to be played off against each other. The change in the system of agriculture, apart from all other considerations, had enormously increased the pauper population. If the statistics of Fish's Supplication can be trusted, it has been estimated that an eighth of a population of five millions must have been in a state of destitution. The sea of mischiefs that flowed from the "more than Turkish tyranny"

THE RICHMOND CUP.

(*By permission of the Worshipful Company of Armourers.*)

Pauperism.

which ruined so many are thus summed up: Honest householders made followers of dishonest men's tables; honest matrons brought to the needy rock (distaff) and cards; men-children, of good hope in the liberal sciences, compelled to fall to handicrafts, to day labour; froward children running headlong into wickedness, who finally garnish gallow-trees; modest virgins for lack of dowry compelled to pass the days of their youth in ungrateful servitude, or else to marry to perpetual, miserable poverty; wanton girls made thereby sisters of the Bank[1] (the stumbling-block of all frail youth), and finally most miserable creatures, lying and dying in the streets, full of all plagues and penury. Latimer's famous description of his father (Vol. II., p. 541), often quoted because it is one of those rare passages in which a contemporary describes a whole class of society intimately known to him, held true in Latimer's own time of only a remnant of the yeomanry. One class was pushing another out in a manner that meant suffering for some, pleasure for others; and the cause was inexplicable to the onlooke

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

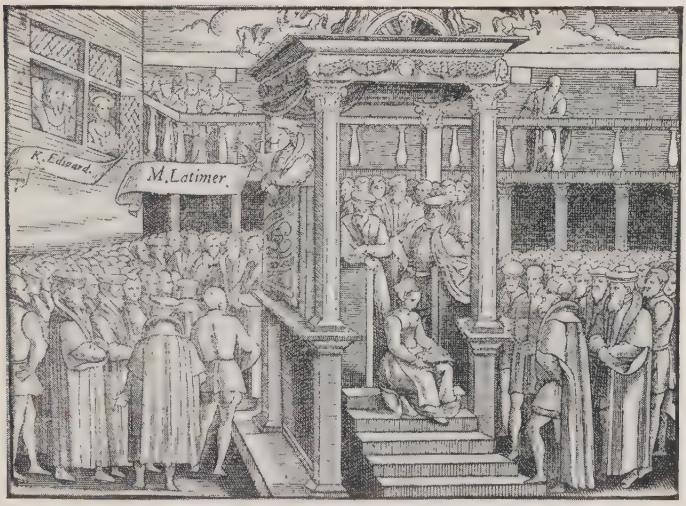
HUGH LATIMER.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

> "Merchant-men travel the country,
> Ploughmen dwell in the city,
> Which will destroy the land shortly."

One of the remedies desired was an Act ordering merchants to employ their goods continually in the traffic of merchandise, and not in the purchasing of lands; that craftsmen shall continually use their crafts in cities and towns, and not leave the same and take farms in the country; and that no merchant shall hereafter purchase lands worth above £40 by the year; but the Tudor officials drafted many statutes which either

[1] Disorderly houses on Bankside, Southwark.

remained mere drafts, or if they became statutes the Government was powerless to enforce them. The legislation to check the high prices of meat in times of scarcity and murrain, ordering beef and pork to be sold at ½d. a pound, mutton and veal at ⅝d., had to be suspended three years later owing to the great dearth. But as a rule the complaint was of an unaccountable dearth in the midst of plenty. Prices had doubled within a generation, according to the popular belief. Yet men



LATIMER PREACHING BEFORE EDWARD VI.
(*Foxe's "Book of Martyrs,"* 1570.)

were buying things they had never bought before. Within twenty years past there were not a dozen sellers of the fashionable luxuries in London. "And now from the Tower to Westminster along, every street is full of them, and their shops glister and shine of glasses, painted cruises, gay daggers, etc., that is able to make any temperate man to gaze on them and to buy somewhat, though it serve to no purpose necessary."

London Life

London, which at the beginning of Henry's reign ranked, with its population of not much over 120,000, with the third-rate towns of the Continent,[1] began to spread as the great country households and retinues of serving-men broke up, and men began

[1] So Friedmann, who gives to Paris a population of 400,000, Milan 200,000

to take chambers in London and go attended with only a page and a lackey. On the east the town had been bounded by the Tower and the Minories, on the north by Houndsditch and the London wall, on the west it reached Old Bailey. That the population within this walled space was not densely crowded would seem certain, inasmuch as there were orchards and gardens in the busiest thoroughfares. Thomas Cromwell ripened fruit in his garden near Lothbury Lane. But space was economised by the very narrow streets, perhaps not more than ten or twelve feet broad. More's Utopian city had streets twenty feet broad, and every house was built of stone and had a garden behind. Bricks were still too costly for general use. More had before his eyes mud walls and overhanging gables that shut out light and air. The Strand, with its great gentlemen's houses and goldsmiths' shops, was perhaps his ideal. In 1533 the street had been continued in the Westminster direction, but St. Martin's still lay in "the fields." The magnificence of the Strand is described by one of the Venetian ambassadors, who says that there alone were fifty-two goldsmiths' shops, "so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that in all the shops of Milan, Rome, Venice, and Florence put together I do not think there would be found so many and of such magnificence as those of London." "These great riches of London are not occasioned by its inhabitants being noblemen or gentlemen, being all, on the contrary, persons of low degree and artificers who have congregated there from all parts of the island, and from Flanders and from every other place." London was creeping on in every direction to become one with Westminster, Holborn, and Smithfield. Over London Bridge Southwark was spreading from a few hundred poor houses to a populous if still squalid neighbourhood. Henry VIII. on his death-bed ordered the stews on Bankside to be put down, but the order had to be re-enacted by Edward VI.'s Government. The Westminster, Lambeth, and Strand "bridges," which are named in the literature of the period, were the watermen's landing-stages.

A Popular Festival.

One of the best accounts of London on a gala day is Hall's description of Anne Boleyn's coronation. She came from Greenwich to the Tower by water, and all the river barges were garnished with targets on their sides, banners, bannerettes,

THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF EDWARD VI.

(*From a part of the fresco of about* 1550, *destroyed with Cowdray House,* 1793.)

and streamers, each barge having "minstrelsy," shawms and "shagbushes" and divers other instruments, which continually made good harmony. On a lighter there were fireworks, a great dragon continually moving and casting wild fire, and round about were terrible monsters and wild men casting fire and making hideous noises. The sides of the Mayor's barge were set full of flags and banners of the devices of the Company of Haberdashers and Merchant Adventurers, the cords hung with "pensells," or pennons having little bells at the ends, which made a goodly noise wavering in the wind. "For to speak of the people that stood on every shore to behold the sight, he that saw it not, would not believe it." The town was full, and great purveyance had been made of all manner of victuals. From the Tower and Temple Bar the streets were gravelled (as nowadays) to prevent the horses from slipping on the pavement, and rails were fixed on one side, behind which stood the "crafts." On the unrailed side stood the constables of the city, apparelled in velvet and silk, with great staves in their hands to cause the people to keep room and good order. Cornhill and "Gracious" Street were hung with fine scarlet, crimson, and other grained cloths, with rich arras, tapestry, and carpets, and the most part of "the Cheap" was hanged with cloth of tissue, gold, velvet, and goodly hangings, and all the windows were replenished with ladies and gentlemen waiting to see the queen go by in her litter of white cloth of gold. The king had ordered the city to be garnished with pageants in the accustomed places, and the Merchants of the Steelyard put up a Mount Parnassus with the fountain of Helicon, which was of white marble, and four streams rose three feet high and met together in a little cup above the fountain, which ran "racked" Rhenish till night. On the mountain sat Apollo, and at his feet Calliope, and the Muses played sweet instruments. At Leadenhall the pageant was the globe with a heavenly roof, and in the pageant sat St. Anne and all her issue beneath her, and under Mary "Cleoph" sat her four children, of which one made a goodly oration to the queen of the fruitfulness of St. Anne, trusting that like fruit should come of the queen. The conduit in Cornhill and in Cheap ran wine, white and claret, all that afternoon. In St. Paul's Churchyard stood a scaffold with 200 children reciting goodly

verses of poets translated into English. At Ludgate the gate was garnished with gold and "biss" (blue); on the leads of St. Martin's Church a choir of singing men and children sang new ballads made in praise of Anne. The pageant at the conduit in Fleet Street was much regarded and praised.

Sanitation.

Although Londoners understood thoroughly the art of organising a beautiful triumph, domestic comfort and even decency had as yet made little progress. The condition of houses within is best described in the often quoted words of Erasmus: "The floors are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, so renewed that the substratum may lie undisturbed some twenty years." It was a collection of scraps of food and miscellaneous filth not fit to be mentioned. When the weather changed, a vapour was thence exhaled which in Erasmus's opinion was by no means sanitary. "Boarded chambers" were rare. Floor-earth, however, had its uses. For stitch in the side, says Andrew Boorde (p. 334), "take up the earth within a door that is well trodden," make a cake of it with vinegar, toast it, and clap it hot to your side. The roads, according to Erasmus, were as much a source of danger as the floors of houses, and it was well, if possible, to keep the windows tightly shut to prevent the admission of the poisonous outer air. He complains of the want of public ædiles to clean the streets. The cleanliness of the streets varied in proportion to the activity of the officers of any given town. The town of Nottingham presented its common officer "because he doth not look upon his office, wherefore we think our town lies in many places in great nuisance and filthy thorow his slothfulness." Activity in presentments against those laying "muck and mull" upon the king's highway might reduce the nuisance, but towns were apt to rely upon crows, jackdaws, rooks, and ravens to clear the streets. The Venetian ambassador reported that a penalty was attached to destroying them, as they say that they keep the streets free from filth. It was the same case with kites, which were so tame that they took out of the hands of little children the bread, smeared with butter after the Flemish fashion, which their mothers had given them, and so, perhaps, were led to the neglect of their proper duties.

It has been laid to Henry's charge, that having made a great opportunity for the re-organising of charitable endow-

ments or for undertaking great public works, he allowed the chance to slip, and raised nothing out of the ruins of all that he destroyed. His genius did not prove very creative even in the satisfaction of his own vanity, for though the building expenses he incurred upon his palaces were large, he was indebted to the taste of others rather than to his own for the splendid buildings and princely collections that fell to his ownership. Of all his palaces, St. James's and Nonesuch alone were of his making. He was always on the watch for suitable houses, conveniently placed for progresses or for the hunting

Palaces.

MAXSTOKE CASTLE, WARWICKSHIRE.

season, and a curious description of the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham's houses shows the king ready on his execution to take advantage of the lucky windfall. Stafford Castle, with six little chambers fitted with draughts and chimneys, "right pleasant for the king when making his progress in grease (stag hunting) time"; Maxstoke Castle, "a right proper thing after the old building," with proper lodgings, having chimneys and draughts, "a suitable castle for the king and queen in the time of their progress"; Kimbolton "might be made with no great change a convenient house for the king, when by any occasion his Grace might be minded to remove from Newhall, or for hunting-time in summer." Thornbury had been the

duke's cherished mansion, and there was his as yet unfinished castle, "with curious works and stately lodgings"; a goodly garden to walk in, a large orchard with many alleys, and in different parts "roosting-places," or summer-houses. Wolsey's constructive genius as a builder, as well as his artistic sense, was superior to the king's, and Henry was glad to be made by Wolsey the owner of Hampton Court with its contents. "One has to traverse eight rooms before you reach the cardinal's audience chamber, and they are all hung with tapestry which is changed once a week." Henry was fonder of having his own and his wives'

KIMBOLTON CASTLE, HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

portraits painted than of buying the works of great artists in which other subjects figured. The nucleus of the royal collection at Hampton Court is believed to have been chiefly Wolsey's property. Owing to the destruction of Westminster Palace by fire, the king was badly off for a town house. The "Bishop of York's" house, "York Place," or Whitehall, fell accordingly from the hands of Wolsey to the king. In return for the gift, Wolsey was allowed to lie at Richmond Lodge—a poor exchange.

One of the most beautiful features at Whitehall was the gate ascribed to Holbein, built of stones and flint boulder, with busts in it made of baked clay, coloured and glazed, and orna-

mental mouldings round them. Another gate, called the King's Gate, destroyed in 1723, led to the park, the tennis-court, bowling-green, cock-pit, and tilting-yard. It was in adding to Whitehall, and in building St. James's Palace, which was to serve as a quiet manor-house, and also in connecting the parks of Westminster and St. James's that Henry's expenditure was chiefly incurred. There had been a public thoroughfare through the Whitehall grounds which was largely used by funeral processions going from Charing Cross to St. Margaret's, Westminster. To close it Henry made a new cemetery in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Whitehall was laid out in galleries and courts after the then approved modern fashion. The king's City palace was Bridewell, near the west side of the Fleet ditch. It was rebuilt to receive the Emperor Charles V. when he visited

HAMPTON COURT AS IT WAS UNDER HENRY VIII.

England. Here Henry lodged when his divorce case was under discussion at Blackfriars. When it fell into decay, Ridley arranged its conversion to a house of correction for vagabonds. Eltham, the South London Palace, was frequently used in Henry's reign, but was considered out of date. The desirability of a large number of palaces was greatly appreciated when the terrors of the sweating sickness kept the court continually on the move. The king's favourite winter palace was Greenwich. Windsor was deemed old fashioned and uncomfortable, too much like a medieval castle. Edward VI. writes from Windsor, "Methinks I am in prison. Here be no galleries, nor no gardens to walk in." Richmond Palace was more domestic. Henry VII. had built a noble house there in the latest fashion. Nonesuch, near Kingston, was built for the enjoyment of still greater quiet.

That behind the scenes in all the palaces there was a good

Façade of Richmond Palace in 1765.

King Street Gate in 1723.

Holbein's Whitehall Gate in 1725.

River Front of Greenwich Palace in 1765

SOME FEATURES OF TUDOR PALACES.

Life in the Palaces.

deal of squalor in the servants' quarters would seem to follow from Henry's Ordinance of 1526 for the better avoiding of corruption and all uncleanness out of the king's house. Every master cook was to receive twenty marks salary to the intent that they shall provide the kitchens with scullions, "who shall not go naked or in garments of such vileness as they now do, nor lie in them nights and days in the kitchens by the fireside." They are to be provided with an "honest and whole course of garments," but nothing is said of a sleeping apartment for them.

The Spanish courtiers who came with Philip in Mary's reign complained of the total want of organisation in the royal household. "All the thirteen councillors and the court favourites live in the palace. Each of the lords has a separate cook in the queen's kitchens, and as there are eighteen different kitchens (at Richmond) such is the hurly-burly that they are a perfect hell. Although the palaces are so large that the smallest of the four we have seen is infinitely larger and certainly better than the Alcazar at Madrid, they are still hardly large enough to hold the people who live in them."

The Great Households.

The control of a household of four or five hundred persons, such as Wolsey's, formed no small part of the work of ministers and noblemen. Every great household was a training school in manners, and, it might be also, in statesmanship. In the same way as of old bishops and abbots allowed the younger sons of noblemen and gentry to become members of their households. If the bishops were to decline the expense of keeping these gentlemen, I believe, said a Venetian ambassador, that they would not be safe in their own churches. Noblemen, bishops and abbots provided schoolmasters to teach grammar to the young men in the house, and noblemen kept a troop of chaplains, more or less occupied in the lord's business, as surveyors of lands, secretaries, almoners, makers of interludes, deans of the chapel, or choir-masters. The great households rivalled each other in the beauty of their choirs: Wolsey's surpassed that of the royal chapel, and the Earl of Northumberland was concerned to strengthen the voices of his basses, counter-tenors, standing tenors and "tribles." His taberett, lute and rebeck visited the houses of lords at the great feasts, as theirs visited his, and each household's minstrels received on these visits their fixed rewards. The king's juggler,

the king's or the queen's bearward got 6s. 8d., an earl's minstrels 3s. 4d., unless they came but once in two or three years, then 6s. 8d., but the minstrels of an earl who was the lord's special friend or kinsman got more. The earl's charities had been reduced to an equally business-like system. His household book would seem to show that he had seen the need of domestic retrenchment and reform, for such minute attention to expenditure

MUSICIANS (MS. Roy. 2 A. xvi.).

was probably not usual in so magnificent an establishment. Many of the regulations appear not a little parsimonious. No extra expense was to be incurred on any day of "exceeding," without reference to him. A most careful price-list was drawn up showing what dainties he was willing to buy and at what prices. No chickens were to be served at any mess except the lord's, the chamberlain's and the steward's, unless they were at a halfpenny each. "No capons to be bought but only for my lord's own mess, and the said capons shall be bought for 2d. a piece, lain and fed

in the Poultry." Game of all kinds was only to be served at the lord's mess; plovers, quails, cranes, redshanks, "bitters," pheasants, curlews, peacocks, widgeons, bustards, terns, were to be served only at principal feasts. The number of "messes" each joint should provide, and how fish should be divided was all noted in the household-book. No herbs might be bought, as they might be had of my lord's garden. All bread was to be baked at home, including horse-bread; all beer was to be home-brewed, and the mustard was to be made at home, not bought, so also vinegar, to be made of the broken wines at home. Leather jacks were to be used for drinking, not earthen pots, which were too soon broken. Pewter and "counterfeit" vessels were to be provided only on rare occasions, the counterfeit was to be returned to the counting-house where it was kept; the pewter vessels are spoken of as "hired." Special arrangements were made for the feeding of gentlemen who were in the earl's house at their friends' charges; the board wages of servants were rigidly estimated for the occasions of the lord's absence, at about a shilling a week. The removal of the earl's household is described in a long series of regulations. Eighteen servants went in advance to prepare for him, and eighteen went with him. The tapestry and the furniture, or a large part of it, moved with him. A "chariot" with seven great trotting horses carried the heavy goods, and the feather-beds, bolsters, pillows, fustians, blankets; counterpanes of counterfeit arras, lined with canvas; testers, and carpets.

Fitzherbert recommends a gentleman's servant to learn by heart the following list of goods which he must remember not to leave behind in inns:—purse, dagger, cloak, night-cap, kerchief, shoeing-horn, boget (wallet) and shoes, spear, male (trunk) hood, halter, saddle cloth, spurs, hat, horse comb, bow, arrows, sword, buckler, horn, leash, gloves, string, brace, pen, paper, ink, parchment, red wax, pomice, books, penknife, comb, thimble, needle, thread, point (lest that thy girth break), bodkin, knife, and lingel (shoemaker's thread).

The making of huge accounts and lists of properties was part of the duty of the cofferer, the clerk of the kitchen, clerk of foreign expenses, clerk of the works, clerk of brevements (directing the work of others), clerk-avenar (provider of horse provender) and clerk of the wearing-book. It is not surprising

to learn that the lord who had to review this great organisation sought relief in periodical retirements "to live in secret," and refresh his spirits after household duties of so oppressive a character.

DECANTER.
(*Mayer Museum, Liverpool.*)

Domestic Economy.

The high standard of duty in household matters which then prevailed exacted the same attention from humbler persons. The increase in the number of household possessions and their comparative scarcity awoke in the breast of the Tudor householder an abnormal passion for inventories. Tusser's advice to the wife is,

"Call quarterly servants to court and to leet,
Write every coverlid, blanket and sheet."

The duties of a well-conducted housewife required that she should sweep the house, provide the meals, tend the dairy, swine, and poultry, bake bread, brew ale, attend to the garden, prepare flax and hemp in all their stages, spin, weave, winnow corn, make malt, wash and wring, make hay, shear corn, and in time of need help her husband to fill the muck-wain or dung cart, drive the plough, load hay, corn, and "such other," go to market with the produce of dairy or poultry yard, with all manner of corn, and render account to her husband as he should to her if he marketed.

LEATHER JACKS.
(*Winchester College.*)

Maids should rise at three o'clock; the maid found sleeping past five o'clock must

"Beware!
Lest your mistress uncover you bare.
Some slovens from sleeping no sooner get up,
Than hand is in aumbry and nose in the cup."

Women and the Church.

In towns, and in London particularly, devout women who had servants spent some time daily in attending mass. The Venetian account reads as if Englishwomen were then peculiar in doing what Catholic women on the Continent now do. "They attend mass every day (1500), say many Paternosters in public, the women carrying long rosaries in their hands, and any who can read take the office of Our Lady with them, and with some companion recite it in the church verse by verse in a low voice

HOUSEMAID OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
(*John Heywood, "Spider and Flie,"* 1556.)

Child Life. after the manner of churchmen." There are, however, he adds, many who have various opinions concerning religion.

The want of affection shown by English parents to their children was also a matter for comment with foreigners. The poor apprenticed their boy-children away from home at the age of seven if possible, and the rich despatched theirs, both girls and boys, to be brought up in the houses of strangers. "On inquiring their reason for this severity, they answered that they did it in order that their children might learn better manners. But I, for my part, believe that they do it because

they like to enjoy all their comforts themselves, and that they are better served by strangers than they would be by their own children." Of the much-talked-of cruelty to children, the known records are few but convincing. Ascham's account of Lady Jane Grey's childhood can never be forgotten. While her parents were hunting he found her reading Plato's Phædo in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccaccio. Asked why she did not hunt with the others, she answered that the sharpness and severity of her parents and her gentle schoolmaster had made her love her books. "For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing or doing anything else, I must do it as it were in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world, or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and some ways which I will not name for the honour I bear them, so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell." Only in learning with good master Aylmer did she taste happiness. It was not girls only who suffered thus. Sir Peter Carew, for playing truant at Exeter Grammar School, was leashed by his father like a dog and coupled to one of his hounds. Tusser never forgot his sufferings as a chorister or as a schoolboy.

TWO LITTLE BOYS.
(*Maycock Brass, Hoath, Kent.*)

> "O painful time! for every crime
> What touzed ears, like baited bears,
> What bobbed lips, what jerks, what nips!
> What robes how bare, what college fare,
> What bread how stale, what penny ale!"

Sent to Eton "to learn straightway the Latin phrase," fifty-three stripes were given him at once

> "For fault but small, or none at all"

"See, Udall, see, the mercy of thee
To me, poor lad!"

Student Life.

But when Tusser found himself at college he was happy. Here the hours were early, the food scanty, and the lectures many, but there was independence. From 5 to 6 a.m. was common prayer with an exhortation of God's Word in a common chapel, and from 6 to 10 either private study or common lectures. At 10 o'clock generally came dinner, most being content with a penny piece of beef amongst four, "having a few potage made of the broth of the same beef, with salt and oatmeal and nothing else." After this slender dinner the youth were either teaching or learning until 5 p.m., when they have a supper "not much better than their dinner." Immediately after, they went either to reasoning in problems or unto some other study until 9 or 10 of the clock, and then, being without fire, were fain to walk or run up and down half an hour to get a heat on their feet when they went to bed. Thus speaks Thomas Lever, preaching at St. Paul's Cross in 1550. The correspondence of the reformers gives an equally favourable account of the ardour of Oxford students. The scheme of work for a student in medicine was: 6 to 7 a.m. readings of Aristotle on physics; 7 to 8, commonplaces of Galen; 8–9, Aristotle on morals, on civil government; 9–10, Peter Martyr lectured on the Epistle to the Romans; 10–11, another lecture on Galen; 11–12, dinner; 12 o'clock, some questions in moral and natural philosophy are proposed for our discussion; 3 to 4, Galen on simple remedies. A law student's course was this: "I devote the hour 6–7 a.m. to Aristotle's Politics, from which I derive a twofold advantage—both a knowledge of Greek and an acquaintance with moral philosophy; 7–8 I employ upon the Digest, or Pandects; 8–9 in the reconsideration of this lecture"; 9–10, Peter Martyr; 10–11, dialectics: after dinner, Cicero's Offices and practice in the Ciceronian style. "At 3 I learn the institutes of civil law, which I so read aloud as to commit them to memory. At 4 are read privately, in a certain hall in which we live, the rules of law . . . after supper the time is spent in various discourse, for, either sitting in our chamber or walking up and down some part of the college, we exercise ourselves in dialectical questions."

Each college was distinguished for zeal in a special study

Greek was taught in one, Hebrew in another. Here the mathematicians flourish, there the poets, here divines and metaphysicians, there students of music and civilians; in all alike rhetoric and logic were primary studies. In spite of this activity, the English universities were thought to be still behind the university of Paris and the schools of Italy. They were also thought expensive by foreigners. The cost of university living had risen greatly, from 20 French crowns to 40, or, according to another, to 50 florins. "In these latter days, when avarice is everywhere increasing and charity growing cold, and this by a divine scourge, everything has become almost twice as dear as it was" (1550). Fewer of the nobles, and now no monasteries, maintained poor students at the universities. Learning in most circles was contemned, and few valued any teaching "but only that they may write and read and learn the tongues." The scarcity of scholars and the solitude of the universities declared this to be true.

The Grammar Schools.

The injury done by the Reformation to the endowed schools of the country was in part the result of accident, as has been shown lately in records published by Mr. Leach. In almost every town and village there had been schools in connection with chantries or guilds, either endowed by the founders or started by the chantry priests to eke out their subsistence. Chantries and religious guilds were swept away by reformers, who saw in their continued existence a sure maintenance of the doctrines of purgatory and of those "masses satisfactory" to be done for the souls of the departed, which they desired to abolish. The existence of grammar schools was to be carefully noted by the commissioners, that these might be saved while the institutions to which they were attached were abolished. But the support which the Edwardian Government supplied took the form of fixed stipends, at a time when the value of money was rapidly falling, and money proved in consequence to be a poor substitute for the original endowment in land. In the process of disruption many schools not reaching the dignity of grammar schools were for ever lost sight of. No provision was made for the continuance of the old song-schools and writing-schools, or for the university exhibitions. Many ancient benefactions for these and other public works, such as bridge-building, repair of highways, and the making of sea-banks, went to the hands

of the spoilers. A good grammar school had been a source of wealth to some small country towns. At Ledbury the teacher —Sir William Wheeler—is described as a man of good conversation, daily occupied in teaching of children grammar, having for his salary the clear revenue of certain lands given to maintain a priest to pray for the founders in the parish church, and beyond this no other livelihood but the little reward of the friends of the scholars. By the said Wheeler the inhabitants had not only had profit and advantage by the keeping of the school, but also in boarding and lodging his scholars, and there was profit also to the outlying districts in "uttering their victuals" there by means of the said scholars. The petitioners urge that Wheeler may remain for the erudition of youth, "a charitable deed, if so it may please his Highness."

SEAL OF BURY SCHOOL.

Home Teaching.

The sons of the rich were not sent to grammar schools, but taught at home by tutors, and to avoid the tedium of solitude an only son would be taught in company with other youths, who were chosen out as suitable companions. Edward VI. was taught in this way, and "two noble primroses" of nobility contended with him in their zeal for their books. Gregory Cromwell, a dull youth, was "accompanied in learning" by two young friends who strove with him in honest envy who should do best in the French tongue (the tutor having invented a wondrously compendious, facile, prompt, and ready way to learn it), and also in writing, playing at weapons, casting of accounts, and pastimes of instruments. The childish hand was first exercised in writing one or two hours; the boys then read Fabyan's Chronicle as long; the residue of the day was spent in playing upon the lute and virginals, and riding, the tutor improving the time with some history of the Romans or the Greeks, which Gregory was "caused to rehearse again." Hawking and hunting, and shooting with the longbow were deemed essential parts of education, and the training was begun very young.

The Education of Girls.

The regulations for the Princess Mary's education were that she should pass her time most seasons at her virginals or other musical instruments, and without fatigation attend to her learning of the Latin tongue and French. She was to dance, and use moderate exercise for taking open air in gardens, mete and wholesome places and walks. Her frequent ill-health prevented her from regular exertion. As a musician and as a Latin scholar she attained to some distinction. At twelve she was "ripe in the Latin tongue that rathe (rarely) doth happen to the women sex." She had some slight knowledge of Greek, also of Italian and Spanish, which she understood but could not speak. Her translation of the Paraphrases on St. John's Gospel, Katharine Parr recommended her to publish under her own name, but she preferred to leave its publication to Udall, who put the finishing touches to it. Lady Jane Grey's correspondence is an extraordinary testimony to her precocity. In 1550, when she was fourteen, Ascham wrote to Sturm on the subject of what he calls her almost incredible skill in writing and speaking Greek. Writing to Bullinger in her fifteenth year, she concludes, "As I am now beginning to learn Hebrew, if you will point out some way of pursuing this study to the greatest advantage, you will confer on me a very great obligation." Somerset's daughters also were well educated, and corresponded with the young king in Latin. But more startling than the learning of Mary, Elizabeth, or Lady Jane was the infant progress of Hooper's daughter Rachel. Hooper married at the end of the year 1546. In December, 1549, writing to his German friends about his little daughter, he says, "Of all other languages she best understands the Latin"; and in the following February, "Our little Rachel is making progress both in body and mind. She understands the English, German,

SEAL OF POCKLINGTON SCHOOL.

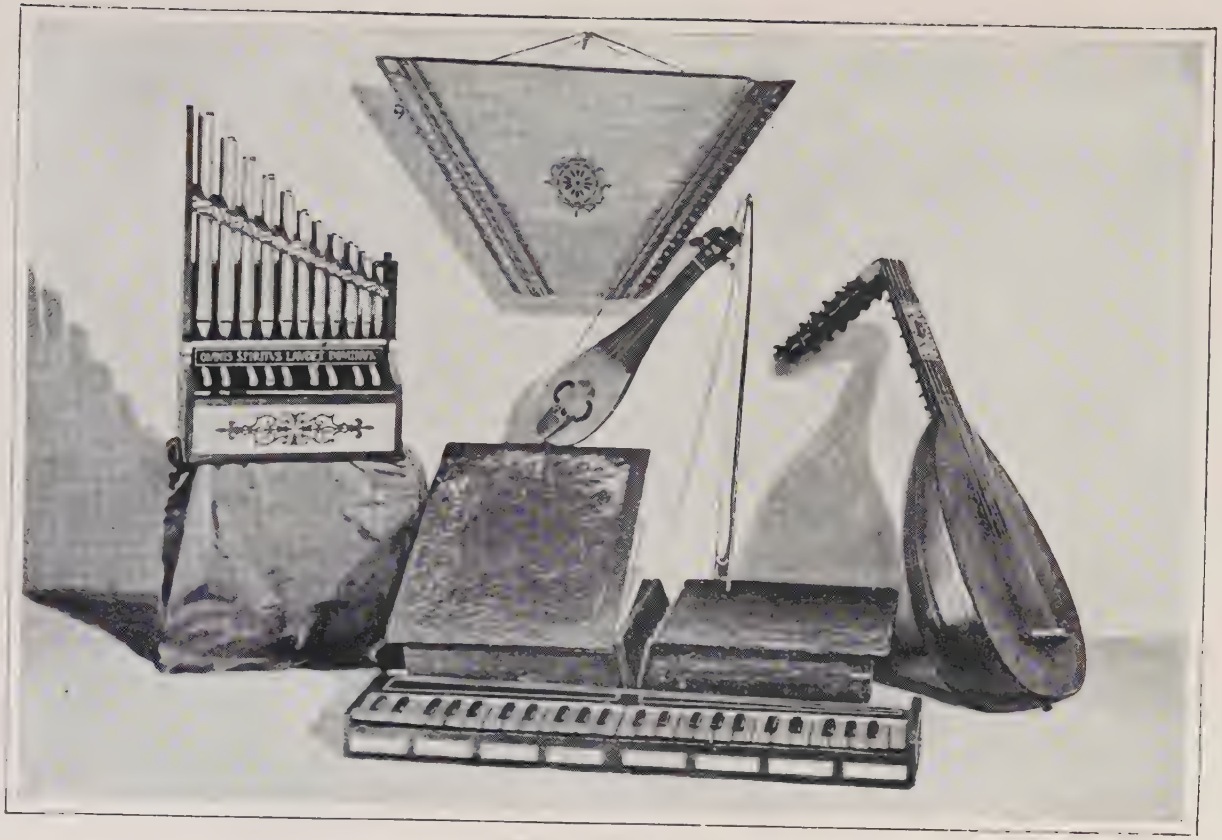
French and Latin languages very tolerably, and especially the Latin."

Many great ladies, however, enjoyed no such good tutorship, but were handed over to a lady's maid to learn manners and nothing else. In Mrs. Everett Green's "Letters of Illustrious Ladies" there is an amusing letter written from one lady to another giving a "character" of a servant who had had an unhappy love-affair. She is recommended as suitable to wait

LADY JANE GREY.
(*Picture Gallery, Bodleian, Oxford.*)

on her ladyship's daughters, to bring them up well and teach them right good manners; "or to keep your plate or your napery she can do very well, or any other service." It was perhaps under such a teacher that Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk attained her marvellous spelling. Her letter to her brother, Lord Stafford (after 1547) runs thus:—

"Brorder I pra you to ssand me my ness dorety by kass I kno har kon dessess se sal not lake hass long hass I leffe and he wold be hord by me at hor haless I kyng he be hone kyne tha ffaless drab and kouk and nat ben I hade hadehar to my couffert."



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

of the Rev. F. W. Galpin, Hatfield Vicara

Mrs. Green appends the following key as the best rendering she can offer:—

"Brother, I pray you to send me my niece Dorothy, because I know her conditions—she shall not lack as long as I live, an you would be heard by me at (all), or else I think you be own kin to the false drab and cook: had it not been. I had had her to my comfort."

An Act of Edward VI.'s first Parliament (cap. 12) allowed "benefit of clergy" to be extended, for a first offence, to peers who could not read.

A Hard World.

It may well have been owing to the harshness of parents in early years that the letters of the period are so full of complaints of widowed mothers against the ingratitude and cruelty of their grown-up children. Cromwell's correspondence contains many letters from ladies endeavouring to recover their "stuff," their lands, rents, and servants' wages from the greedy clutches of the eldest son. But it was not a time when sentiment and emotion made themselves felt. People who were accustomed to see cruel executions and burnings almost as often as pageants, could view most events with coolness. The execution of Somerset was able to cause only a passing thrill, though all London had shouted with joy when it was thought that he was to escape. When Hooper burned, the place round about, the houses and the boughs of the trees were "replenished with people." At the stake a box supposed to contain the queen's pardon was offered to him, and he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! If you love my soul, away with it!" He asked to burn in his doublet and hose, but that was not allowed. Then, being in his shirt, he took a "point" from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity. A hoop of iron bound him round the middle. He was well seen of all the people, being tall and standing on a high stool. When the reeds were cast up, he received two bundles of them in his hands, kissed them, and put them under either arm, and showed with his hands how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any did lack. The fire was slow in kindling, dying out three times, and the faggots were too few; the breaking of the gunpowder bladders did him small good. He cried, "Lord

Jesus, receive my spirit," till he was black in the mouth and his tongue so swollen that he could not speak; yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums. He knocked his breast with his hands till one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other until by renewing of the fire his strength was gone. Thus was he three-quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Foxe's description adds other hideous details of an exquisitely painful kind. Such sufferings the crowd came to witness, with reverence and sympathy for the sufferer perhaps, yet calmly and coolly. To analyse the workings of the hearts of men and women within the Tudor period is, and it is perhaps to be hoped will remain, the most difficult of historical undertakings.

WHEN HOOPER BURNED.
(*Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," ed.* 15.)

AUTHORITIES.—1509–1547.

GENERAL HISTORY.

The contemporary Tudor Chroniclers, Hall and Holinshed, with Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglica*, Grafton's *Chronicle* and Stow's *Annals*, are supplemented by contemporary biography in Cavendish's *Wolsey* and Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, by the diaries of Edward VI. and Machyn, Wriothesley's *Chronicle* (Camden Society), Latimer's *Sermons*, and by Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *History of Henry VIII.* Many important documents will be found in Strype's collection, in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, in Burnet's *History of the Reformation* (ed. Pocock), in several of the volumes of the Camden Society and Parker Society, and Ellis's *Original Letters*. But, above all, the history of the time must be sought in the copious and invaluable Calendars to the State Papers; to which must be added the Parliamentary Records (including the Privy Council Records as well as the Journals both of Lords and Commons), and the Statutes of the Realm. Of modern works, besides the general histories, such as Bright, Green, Lingard, Hallam, Ranke, etc., there are more special histories, such as Brewer's *Henry VIII.*, Froude's *History of England* 1529–1588, Busch, *England under the Tudors*, Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn*, and religious histories of the English Reformation by Blunt, Dixon, and Beard. *See* also Stubbs's *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History*, and Gneist, *Constitutional History of England*.

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Religion.—Contemporary sources, *see* above. To the modern histories of the Reformation mentioned may be added that of Aubrey Moore, and Perry, *History of the Church of England*, vol. ii. On the dissolution of the monasteries, one of the best modern works available is F. A. Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*. The original sources on which it is based include the records of the Augmentation Office, the Chapter House Books, the Treasurer's Rolls, Ministers' Accounts, and Suppression Papers. Some of the letters relating to the Dissolution are printed in *Letters Relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Society). Many documents are noted in the various volumes of James Gairdner's *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of Henry VIII.*, and the Abbotsford Club has printed a volume relating to the spoils of the religious houses; *cf. also* Gilbert Child's *Church and State under the Tudors;* Cutts's *Dictionary of the Church of England*.

Warfare.—There is no book dealing specially with English military affairs in this period, but readers will find some interesting notes in Grose's *Military Antiquities* (1801) and Hewitt's *Arms and Armour*. In the account of Flodden, the interesting monograph of Mr. Bates of Langley Castle (privately printed) has been followed.

Naval History, 1509–1603.—Burchett, *Naval History;* Monson, *Naval Tracts;* Letters and Despatches of Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham; MSS. (various) in the Pepysian Collection; Derrick, *Memoirs of the Royal Navy;* Charnock, *Marine Architecture;* Duhamel du Monceau, *Elemens de l'Architecture Navale;* Pepys, *Miscellanies;* various papers in "Archæologia," and in Gold's *Naval Chronicle*, 1799–1818; Falconer, *Marine Dictionary;* the works of John Davis and other Elizabethan navigators; Strada, *De Bello Belgico;* Lediard, *Naval History;* Colliber *Columna Rostrata;* Letters and Papers relating to the French war, 1513 (Navy Records Society).

Exploration.—Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages*, etc.; Harrisse, *Discovery of North America;* Fox Bourne, *English Seamen under the Tudors; cf.* also Purchas's *Pilgrims*, and some of the publications of the Hakluyt Society, *e.g.* No. 7, Hakluyt's own work, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America*.

History of Education.—Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor, 1873; Nicholas Carlisle, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales*, 2 vols., 1818; Gabriel Compayré, *History of Pedagogy*, ed. W. H. Payne, 1888; Sir T. Elyott, *The Book named the Governour*, ed. Croft, 2 vols., 1883; J. B. Mullinger,

History of the University of Cambridge, Vol. II., 1884; A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation.*

Literature.—There are few text-books for the literature of the period 1509–1559, except near its end. The fullest treatment is in Henry Morley's *English Writers*, Vols. VII. and VIII. Some reference will, of course, be found in general manuals. Most of the authors named are accessible in modern editions, Hawes (who was imperfectly edited for the Percy Society), being in worst case.

Scottish Literature.—B. ten Brink, *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*, Bd. II., Th. II.; Alois Brandl, "Mittelenglische Litteratur," in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, Bd. II., Abth. I., Lief. 6 (1892); H. Morley, *English Writers*, Vols. VI. and VII.; Dr. J. A. Murray, *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, Phil. Soc. *Transactions*, 1870–72; Schipper, *Englische Metrik; Dict. of Nat. Biography*, articles by T. Bayne on Douglas, and by Æ. Mackay on Lindsay; Gawin Douglas, *Poetical Works*, ed. J. Small, 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1874; Sir David Lindsay, *Works*, ed. J. Small and J. A. H. Murray, E.E.T.S., 1863, &c. (5 parts); Lindsay, *Poetical Works*, ed. D. Laing, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1879.

Music.—There are general histories by Dr. Burney (4 vols., 1776–1789), Sir John Hawkins (5 vols., 1776), Dr. Busby (2 vols., 1819), and W. S. Rockstro (1886). *See* also A. W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* (4 vols., 1868), and C. E. H. Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'Harmonie du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1832); and articles in Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The material on which these works are based is, of course, greatly scattered.

Agriculture.—Ashley, *Economic History*, Vol. I., part 2, chapter on "The Agrarian Revolution," and the authorities there given; Statutes of the Realm, *temp.* Hen. VIII. and Edward VI.; Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce;* Froude, *History of England;* article on "The Commission of 1517" in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Historical Society, 1892. Also Crawley's works and *Four Supplications*, Brynkelow, *Complaint of Roderick Mors*; Starkey's *Dialogue*, ed. J. M. Cowper (all pub. for Early English Text Society); *Discourse of the Commonweal of England*, ed. by Miss Lamond.

Commerce and Industry.—Statutes of the Realm, Calendar of State Papers, Letters and Papers, Domestic and Foreign (ed. Brewer), Rymer's *Fœdera;* Harrison, *Description of Britain;* More, *Utopia;* Latimer, *Sermons; England in the Time of Henry VIII.* (E.E.T.S.); *A Brief Conceit of English Policye*, by W. S. (1581); *Supplication of Poore Commons* (1546); Froude, *History of England;* Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices;* Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce;* Walker, *Money;* Humboldt, *Essai Politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne* (1811); Jacobs, *History of the Precious Metals;* Williamson, *Foreign Commerce of England under the Tudors.*

Town Life.—Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages;* Ashley's *Economic History*, chapters on the woollen trade; Cunningham (*see* above); *Liber Albus* (ed. Riley); *Historic Towns Series*, especially Boase, *History of Oxford;* Rüge, *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen;* C. Walford, *The English Fair;* the *Antiquary* magazine; county histories, *e.g.*, Hasted's *Kent;* Merewether and Stephens, *History of the Boroughs and Municipal Corporations of the United Kingdom* (1835); Gairdner, *Paston Letters;* and the works of Gasquet, Gairdner, and Brewer mentioned above.

Medical Science and Public Health.—Freind, *History of Physic from the Time of Galen to the Sixteenth Century* (2 vols., 1726); J. F. South, *Memorials of the Craft of Surgery in England*, ed. by Power, introd. by Sir J. Paget. *Public Health.*—Creighton, *History of Epidemics in Britain;* Sir John Simon, *English Sanitary Institutions.*

Social Life, 1509–1558.—Fairholt, *Costume in England*, ed. Dillon; Fairholt, *Satirical Songs on Costume*, Percy Society; *The Commonweal of this Realm of England*, ed. E. L. Lamond; Stow, *London;* J. G. Nichols, *London Pageants;* *Royal Household Ordinances*, pub. by Society of Antiquaries; *Household Book of the Duke of Northumberland;* the *Babees Book* and other treatises on *Manners and Morals in the Olden Time*, collected by F. J. Furnivall for the Early English Text Society;

Tusser, *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandrie;* Fitzherbert, *Boke of Surveying* and *Boke of Husbandrie*, first published 1525; Nicholas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.;* Hall, *Chronicle;* Machyn, *Diary* (Camden Society); Mrs. Everett Green's *Letters of Illustrious Ladies;* *Lincoln's Inn Records;* Churchwardens' Accounts (a useful list of those printed is in the *English Historical Review*, 1899, p. 335 *seq.*, giving the dates covered by the extracts); Memorial Brasses, *e.g.* those figured in Boutell's *Monumental Brasses* and Cotman's *Brasses of Norfolk;* Stevenson, *Nottingham Records;* T. Wright, *History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments*, and *Chester Plays;* Nichols, *Memoirs of Edward VI.* (Roxburgh Club); Latimer, *Sermons* (Parker Society); Sneyd, *Italian Relation* (Camden Society); Rawdon Brown, *Giustiniani's Four Years;* Brewer, *Henry VIII.;* Prefaces to State Papers (Record Commission); Sir H. Ellis, *Letters*, First and Second Series; *Zurich Letters* (Parker Society); *English Historical Review*, 1892, pp. 270 *seq.*

SCULPTURE COMMEMORATING THE BROTHERS DUDLEY.

(*Beauchamp Tower, London.*)

CHAPTER X.

THE NEW FORCES. 1547–1558.

A. L. SMITH. The Reign of Edward VI.

THE last reign had swept away so much of the old constitution, political as well as ecclesiastical, and had undermined so much, that the question naturally arises, What kept things together after it? What prevented the interval between Henry VIII.'s death and Elizabeth's accession from being a time of mere destruction, a fatal breach with the past? There were, even as it was, violent changes in one direction provoking a violent reaction in the opposite direction. But that the continuity of political and in a great degree of religious institutions was not wholly sundered, that the English Reformation was not such a violent dislocation from the country's past as was the French Revolution, is due to assignable causes. The first of these was the balance of parties deliberately set up by the late king's will. Wriothesley and Gardiner, backed by the older nobles, were some check on the burning zeal of the Seymours, the Dudleys, and Cranmer. The second cause was that the characteristic of the Tudor rulers was their careful conservation of legal and political forms, and in no one was this characteristic more marked than in King Henry VIII. He may indeed be said actually to have strengthened the outer shell, as it were, of the constitution, profoundly as he perverted its inner life and working. But the chief weight may be attributed to a third cause—the tenacious hold which this ancient constitution had now acquired, striking its roots deep into national thought and institutions of every kind; and (it must be added) there was to match it a conservatism as strong in the popular spirit, and as instinctive a sense of the historic past.

The Protector Somerset.

The first act of the young king's uncle, head of the new Government, was to get himself made Duke of Somerset and Protector. His next was to attempt, by an invasion of Scotland, to force the Scots to carry out the marriage treaty arranged in

1543 between Edward and Mary the infant Queen of Scots. He won the battle of Pinkie, the immediate effect of which was to revive the French influence in Scotland, to destroy at a blow all the work of Henry's years of firm but patient diplomacy, to lead to Mary's being taken to France, married to the Dauphin, and set up as Catholic rival to Elizabeth. The ulterior effects of this fatal victory were still more far-reaching; the rising of the North in 1569, the Ridolfi and Babington and Throckmorton plots, and the Armada; and further, the divergence of the Scotch and English Reformations, the refusal of the two nations to accept union in 1603, the hatreds

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE CESSION OF BOULOGNE.

which found expression at Dunbar and Worcester. It was a typical instance of Somerset's policy. He seems to have meant it for a continuation of that of Henry VIII. But for constitutional and ritual changes he attempted doctrinal; for an accurate insight into the heart of the people he substituted a weak popularity-hunting; everything was hurried on at a revolutionary pace. Time was on the Reformers' side; yet in the three years between the first and the second Prayer-books of Edward VI. the country was expected to have prepared itself for a far greater measure of religious change than the twenty years since Wolsey had yet effected. Somerset again forgot, as Wolsey himself, as Cromwell, had forgotten, that he was only a minister. His probably sincere Protestantism, his expressed sympathy for the poor, have made modern writers too kind to his memory. At any rate, no terms can be too severe for the crew of harpies who formed his colleagues,

who completed the plunder of the chantries and guilds, and further debased the coinage (p. 349); who divided the spoil of three of the new bishoprics; who embezzled, plotted and misgoverned in the name of a purer faith and as a protest against the errors of Rome. No evidence can be more damning against them than the stern language of the best men of their own party, Latimer, Knox, Lever. Northumber-

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

EDWARD VI. (AFTER HOLBEIN).

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

land, Somerset's successor, had not even his redeeming measure of sincerity. The military reputation which he had won by the suppression of Kett's rebellion in Norfolk (p. 294) was eclipsed by the enforced surrender of Boulogne to the French. His personal character was revealed by his gratuitous persecution of the Princess Mary, by the vindictive haste with which he urged on the most subversive and spoliatory side of Protestantism, above all by the insane

egotism of the attempt to set Lady Jane Grey on the throne. She was heiress of the Suffolk line, but excluded expressly by the will of Henry VIII.; and Edward VI. had no legal power to devise the crown. Nor was there a moment's chance that the nation would thus lightly reject both Mary and Elizabeth, and with them cast away its only hope of freedom from dynastic strife. However, the mere idea of a crown for his son's wife led him into this suicidal course; he bullied the Council and the London citizens into a hollow acquiescence; but his futile scheme collapsed in eleven days, and Northumberland's recantation on the scaffold deprives him even of the excuse of religious fanaticism.

Amid this rout of incapables, rogues, zealots, and hypocrites, stands the silent, friendless, pathetic figure of the young king. We cannot but look eagerly to see if there are any signs to tell us what manner of ruler he would have made. "When he should come of age he would hang up a score of these knaves," said an outspoken Warwickshire gentleman, haled before the Council for such words. In his diary, opposite the names of his chief advisers, are entered, significantly enough, without word of comment, certain sums they were charged with having misappropriated. It is clear that he was inclined to further religious changes; also that he took interest in the new foundations of hospitals and schools (pp. 268, 328). But we can hardly say more than that he was a studious, well-taught boy, precocious but self-absorbed, and with the Tudor instincts already marked in him.

A. L. SMITH. The Reign of Mary.

THE usual view of Mary's brief reign is mistaken in two respects. It exaggerates the amount of reaction from the reign preceding, and it misconceives the nature of the impression made by "Bloody Mary's" persecutions. The feeling in 1553 was in favour, not of reaction properly so called, but of return to a strong middle position. In her proclamation the queen discountenanced all religious disputings either way. In her, first writs she used the title "Head of the Church." Cranmer Hooper, Latimer, were not molested at first, nor until they almost courted arrest. The Parliament, it is true, annulled the statutes of the late reign, but this was ostensibly because they had been passed in a minority. It repealed all Treason Acts since the 25 Edward III., and all Præmunire Acts since 1529

The whole idea was to return to the state of things left by Henry VIII., with the exception of the hated Six Articles (of 1539). That the nation had by no means lost its head in Catholic reaction is seen by the curious way in which a parliament of Catholics hesitated and haggled over the restoration of the two Catholic champions, the Duke of Norfolk and Bishop Tunstal. The fact was—as the clergy told Pole, and as Pole told the Pope—the central consideration in the English mind was not the Mass or the Bishop of Rome's

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE RESTORATION OF ROMANISM.

authority, but the abbey lands. What guarantee was there to be for the sacred claims of vested interests?

Causes of the Reaction.

Wyatt's rebellion was ominous, for Kent was ever the advance guard of disaffection; and but for Kent's hastiness the rising would have been joined by the Midlands, the South-west, and Wales. It stung Mary into a mood of more open reaction, and it sealed the fate of the Dudleys and Greys, a fate which, but for Philip's politic care, Elizabeth would have shared. There was a bitter national jealousy against the Spanish marriage, despite the great bribe that to a child of the marriage should go the Netherlands. There was a still wider European jealousy against female sovereigns, and Knox's "Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women" was not the only book on the subject. There was at home a rising Parliamentary spirit, one sign of which is the occurrence of several privilege cases; another sign was the Lords' rejection of the Heresy Bill. Thus when the English people were received back by solemn absolution into the

bosom of the Catholic Church, Pole had to be very careful to disclaim any idea either of reopening the question of forfeited Church lands or of challenging the distinctly ancient powers of the Crown over the Church. The dispute over "annates"

CARDINAL POLE.

(From the picture by Titian, by permission of the Right Hon. Lord Arundell of Wardour.)

makes it clear that Parliament had no wish at all to restore them to the Pope, and little eagerness to confer them on the Crown. When the lower clergy petitioned against the Mortmain Laws they showed that they alone failed to realise the temper of the nation.

The persecutions began in 1555 with Hooper, who was unpopular for his attitude on the "vestments" question, and his being the intermediary of the foreign Reformers. The long delay in Cranmer's case—till March, 1556—was probably caused by Gardiner's protecting him. It is not, indeed, Gardiner who must bear the blame of the 277 executions, but in the first and chief degree, Mary herself; next to her, Pole; and next, perhaps, Philip. They differed from the old Lollard persecutions not only in number and scale, but in being worked by royal commissions, not by common law procedure or mere episcopal jurisdiction. They differed from Elizabeth's executions of Catholics at a later date in that Elizabeth was provoked and almost forced into these, and wanted nothing better than to avoid inquiry into consciences and to be content with external conformity. Mary's was a far deeper and more religious nature; she felt she must seek for the tares and root them out: "The zeal of Thine house hath eaten me up," she said. The effect on the nation was not so much due to disgust at such cruel sights; there is a great gulf between Tudor England and the humanitarian feeling of to-day in this respect (p. 246). But men to whom Protestantism had hitherto meant destruction, spoliation, and even ribaldry; men who firmly held that only truth could endure the touchstone of fire; men who had no love themselves for Pope or Spain were profoundly stirred and troubled by the martyrs' constancy and the cloud of witnesses who testified to the new faith by their blood. Mary's difficulties were increased by her conscientious but costly revival of old foundations, by the growing lack of qualified clergy, by the increase in the number and activity of Protestant refugees abroad. When a band of these, under Stafford, seized Scarborough Castle, the Council could no longer resist that French war which Philip, through Mary, was forcing on them. It was the last blow: it forced her to exact great loans and to "pack" her Parliament; it ruined her with the nation by leading to the loss of Calais. All eyes, she knew, were already turned with longing to her sister. The times required the temporising and opportunist policy of Elizabeth, not the passionate, one-sided sincerity of Mary. She had all the Tudor strength of will without the Tudor suppleness. Twenty-four years' persecution had hardened her and soured her. Thus her

The Persecutions.

The Reaction Ends.

unmerited sufferings and her very virtues had the largest share in bringing her to the grave, broken-hearted with the consciousness of shame and failure. Such are the ironies of history.

SCARBOROUGH CASTLE.

CHARLES RAYMOND BEAZLEY. The Church under Edward VI.

In the reign of Edward VI. the official history of Church and State becomes rather more subordinate than before to the social movements of the revolution, and in itself is neither interesting nor permanent. The story of the Protestant misrule only points the moral of the reaction under Mary,

and shows us the extreme point of the religious revolt in England—for the Puritan victory in the seventeenth century was mainly political—from the medieval system.

Our chronicle of acts and events, however, will guide us, like the first signs of an earthquake on the earth's crust, to the real centre below, in the popular movements to and fro, and in the new influence of the Gospellers over the masses: while the abuse of this influence by the camarilla of adventurers at Court will gain a fresh importance as a main factor in discrediting for a time the real tendency of the nation. Somerset outweighs Hooper.

Church and State.

First, on the death of the old king and the accession of the new, a minor nine years old, the Crown's firm control over religious reform was exchanged at once for a wider liberty, and in the next two years for a definite patronage of foreign doctrines and teachers. In 1547 the Act of Six Articles and the Acts against the Lollards (revived in 1534 from those of Richard II. and Henry V.[1]) were repealed, with all laws and canons against clerical marriage. A new statute abolished the *Congé d'élire* as a farce, and decreed that bishops should be directly named to vacate sees in the king's letters-missive to the Chapters and thereupon consecrated. Further, since the Crown was the fount both of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction, most of the citations in spiritual cases were now to run in the king's name. It was reaffirmed treason to deny the sovereign's supreme headship of the Church in England. Other Acts were passed for communion in both kinds, and for the confiscation of the chantries[2] granted in 1545 to Henry VIII.—"the last dish of the last course; for after chantries, as after cheese, nothing else is to be expected."

In the next year the English Order of Communion was approved, and in 1549 the first Book of Common Prayer, embodying the work of Henry's Reformation, with a few more advanced innovations, passed into law, followed by the Ordinal in 1550. The Edwardian or Protestant Service Book in 1552

[1] But not from the "De Hereticis Comburendis" of Henry IV., which gave power of action to Bishops; the other two statutes "tended to make heresy an offence at common law."

[2] This yielded £180,000 (Strype), out of which were founded eighteen grammar schools, the descendants of 2,374 chapels and chantries (Heylin).

was the work of the protectorate of Northumberland. A distinction has been often drawn between the two protectorates, as distinct periods of the reign; but as the doctrinal changes, the confiscation of Church property and the same policy in Church and State went on as steadily, though not as quickly, under the Seymours as under the Dudleys, the religious history can be treated as a whole.[1] The change was only one of Court factions. In the year of that change the new Regent appointed, on the lines of the Act of 1536 and in direct continuance of Somerset's policy, a commission to revise the Church Law, and in 1553 made a fresh seizure of Church plate to the king's use, while the abolition of the *Congé d'élire* in 1547 was completed by the letters patent now granted to bishops during natural life or good behaviour They were to perform "all that by God's Word was committed to bishops," in the king's name and by his authority. The sanction of Cranmer's Forty-two Articles was the last religious measure of the reign, for the matter of the Protestant succession was a political device to save the heads and fortunes of unsuccessful and detested courtiers by putting a dependent of their own in the place of the two masterful daughters of the Old Lion—Mary and Elizabeth. "Popery" was an added objection to the elder in the minds of the king and the Scripturists, and it was skilfully used by Northumberland, who was ready to profess the Roman creed on the scaffold, and to curse the "false preachers who had led him to err," if only he might be given life—"yea, the life of a dog."

But if the legal and Court history of religion in these six years cannot claim much attention, the social details of the first Protestant victory among the English people are full of interest.

Religion and the Social Changes.

First of all, the defeat of the conservative party in the Council was really the result of the progress of Lutheran and Zwinglian doctrine among the people. Change of creed was beginning; roughly speaking, there had been only practical changes under Henry VIII. And so, early in the new reign, the High Churchmen among Bishops and Councillors—Gardiner of Winchester, Bonner of London, Tunstall of Durham (in

[1] Lay government of the Church was of course the central feeling, which unifies all these different regencies and periods from 1529.

1547), Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester (in 1550) were successively attacked, imprisoned, and deprived. The Edwardian persecution, like the Marian, fell mainly on noble victims. Gardiner, on his exclusion from the Privy Council

CHANTRY CHAPEL OF THE THREE KINGS, BRISTOL.

by Henry's will, had avowedly taken up the *rôle* of opposition, alike towards the Scotch war,[1] the Iconoclast visitation of 1547, and the New Injunctions. Put on his trial, after two

[1] "Let Scots be Scots till the king comes of age."

detentions in the Fleet, by a test sermon on St. Peter's Day, 1549, he failed to satisfy, broke Somerset's injunction "not to handle the doctrine of the mass," and maintained that the king's supremacy was by the king's minority *ipso facto* in abeyance. Accordingly, on June 30th, he was sent to the Tower, plied first with six Articles and then with twenty, and as he would not yield, deprived of his see, February, 1551. Till Mary's accession the old man remained in the Tower, from his sixty-eighth to his seventieth year, without books, ink, or paper. Edmund Bonner, imprisoned, like Gardiner, in the Fleet for his merely conditional promise to obey the Injunctions, was in 1548 examined before Cranmer, Latimer, and Hooper in the chapel at Lambeth, where he enticed the Primate into a "dispute on the Sacrament."[1] Then he objected to Hooper and Latimer as legally heretics, yet now sitting as his judges, preached, like his leader, a "wilful" test sermon, and was committed to the Marshalsea. Cuthbert Tunstall was lodged in the Tower about the time that the Visitation began to destroy the "abused" images, and to enforce the use of the Injunctions, of the Homilies, and of Erasmus' Paraphrase. Thus, within nine months of the new reign, Cranmer was left the only Churchman on the Council.

Heath and Day in 1550—the one for refusing the revised Ordinal, the other for disobedience to the Council's order for "plucking down of altars and setting up of tables"[2]—joined

[1] "If that be the law," replied Cranmer to one of Bonner's *obiter dicta*, "it is no godly law." "'Tis the king's law used in these realms," said Bonner. "Would ye were less full of that and more knowing in God's law and your duty." "Well, seeing your Grace falleth to wishing, I can also wish many things to be in your person." "You do use us," broke out Sir Thomas Smith, "to be seen as common lawyers." "Indeed, I knew the law ere ye could read it." At the next session Bonner read Hooper's works to prove his heresy. Latimer lifted up his hand, as he said to still the crowd, as Bonner believed to rouse it. Cries interrupted his reading, succeeded by a shout of laughter when "burly Edmund" turned round with a mock defiance: "Ah Woodcocks, Woodcocks." Cranmer, fretting under his "taunts and checks, calling us" (as he complained) "fools and daws and such like," committed his suffragan to the Marshalsea.

[2] George Day "answered plainly that he could not do it, saving his conscience. For the altars seemed to him a thing anciently established by agreement of the Holy Fathers and ancient doctors, with the custom of many years, and, as he thought, according to the Scriptures. . . . He would rather lose all than condemn his own conscience."

their seniors in prison and deprivation September, 1551. Voysey, of Exeter, in the same year, shared the same fate, as a "fautor" (favourer) of the Devonshire rebels of 1549, who had demanded "that the new service be laid aside, since it is like

BISHOP GARDINER.
(*By permission, from the portrait at Trinity Hall, Cambridge.*)

a Christmas game, and the old service again used with the procession in Latin."

On the other hand, Cranmer's party among the Bishops and clergy, though all content, except Hooper, to submit absolutely to the powers that be—whether King, Protector, or

Council—suffered not only from Conservative opposition, but from Court plunderers and foreign Anabaptists. Some under Bonner's guidance tried, for instance, to adapt the fullest mediæval ritual to the English Prayer Book; the Princess Mary refused to surrender the Latin Mass; Somerset pulled down St. Mary-le-Strand for his town palace and laid hands upon St. Margaret's, Westminster; the seizure even of Cranmer's manors continued; Joan Bocher refused to "confess Christ as God," and was burnt (May, 1549), as was George Van Paris, in April, 1551, for Arianism. The party in power—if it could be called a party at all—was indeed a Unity in Diversity. Hooper refused to be made Bishop of Gloucester in the vestments of Antichrist, but after six months' argument with Ridley and Cranmer, and six weeks' reflection in the Fleet Prison, yielded to the advice of his Swiss teachers and was consecrated. The disorder, poverty, and discontent in the mass of the clergy and people seem by this time to have arrested the attention of all earnest men. The young king wrote "upon reformation of many abuses," and his proclamations forbade not only "quarrelling and shooting in churches," but also "the bringing of horses and mules through the same, making God's house like a stable or common inn." Priests are not to be mobbed or hustled; church plate and furniture, in spite of the Protector Somerset's example, is not to be embezzled or stolen outright, as men might think. As early as February, 1548, all persons are strictly forbidden "to omit, change, or innovate any order, rite, or ceremony of the Church commonly used and not forbid in the reign of our late sovereign lord." Along with this, however, came an order for the absolute removal of all images.

Three points of social change may be specially illustrated —the new poverty of the clergy, the decay of learning and morals, the reformation in public worship and education.

Clerical Poverty.

1. Latimer, who preferred to preach before the Court rather than to return to his old see of Worcester, on his release from the Tower, denounced

"The scraping and getting together for bodily houses while the soul's house is neglected. . . . We of the clergy had too much, but now we have too little. Schools are not maintained, scholars have not exhibition, the preaching-office decayeth. The gentry invade the profits of the Church, leaving but the title . . . benefices are let out in fee-farms, given to

servants for keeping of hounds, hawks, and horses. The clergy, kept to sorry pittances, are forced to put themselves into gentlemen's houses and serve as clerks of kitchens, surveyors, or receivers."

In milder language Cranmer protested; in the stronger form of riot the Londoners compelled Somerset to leave Westminster alone; the Council was informed that private men's halls were hung "with altar-cloths, their tables and beds covered with copes, that some at dinner drank from chalices." Sometimes, it was said, the wives of the new-married priests were dressed in the altered robes of the old service.

2. Worse things were said before the Court by Bernard

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE STATE OF ENGLAND, 1555.

Gilpin, the Apostle of the North, then rector of Houghton-le-Spring— **The Clerical Decline.**

"Dispensations for pluralities and non-residence are transported hither from Rome and farming of benefices still prevails. Patrons see that none do their duty; they think it as good to put in asses as men. Bishops were never so liberal in making of lewd [unlearned] priests, and patrons are as liberal in making of lewd vicars. Baptism is despised and the Holy Communion thought nothing of. Learning decays; men will not send their children to the schools. Look upon the wells of the realm—Oxford and Cambridge—they are almost dried up. Ministers do not think themselves obliged to do any pastoral work the first year after presentation because they get no pay, the king taking the first-fruits."

Still more violently did Bacon inveigh against the

"gross Gospellers, who crack very stoutly for remission of sins, but are puffed up with pride, swell with envy, wallow in pleasures—whose religion is disputation; of Christian acts nothing at all."

The decline in the clerical standard, Lord Warwick told Cecil, was "in that priests be so sotted of wives and children that they forget their poor neighbours and all other matters of their calling."

The Reform in Worship and Teaching.

3. But however this may have been, however true the general decline in learning, morals, and decency, owing mainly to the example of the courtiers, there is a brighter side in the honest attempts at a real reformation in public worship, and in primary education, as well as in English trade and industry. As we are here only dealing with religion, it will be enough to instance the First and Second Prayer Books, the Forty-two Articles, Cranmer's Catechism, and the twenty new grammar schools of the reign (p. 328) as proofs of a higher movement than mere Church plunder and fanaticism.

The Prayer Book.

The Prayer Book of 1549 was defended by Cranmer against the Devonshire complaints as being nothing but the old services in English, purged, condensed, and simplified,[1] and for this there was evidence in the retention of the ancient vestments, lights, and chief ceremonies, with even the title, of the "Mass." Matins and Evensong represented the Hours, and place was found especially in the visitation-office of the sick for auricular confession and priestly absolution. The Traditio Instrumentorum, or giving of the sacred vessels, was also to be found in the Ordinal. Only the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice could fairly be thought obscure in this summary (as it really was) of Henry's reforming work. In its system of Lessons from the Old and New Testaments, in its compactness and popular character, the English Prayer Book was certainly the best liturgy in Christendom.

But in the second book of 1552 the aims of purifying

[1] For the ritual changes up to 1547, *cf.* Bishop Blandford's Diary referring to Worcester:

"In January, 1539, the monks of this church put on secular habits.

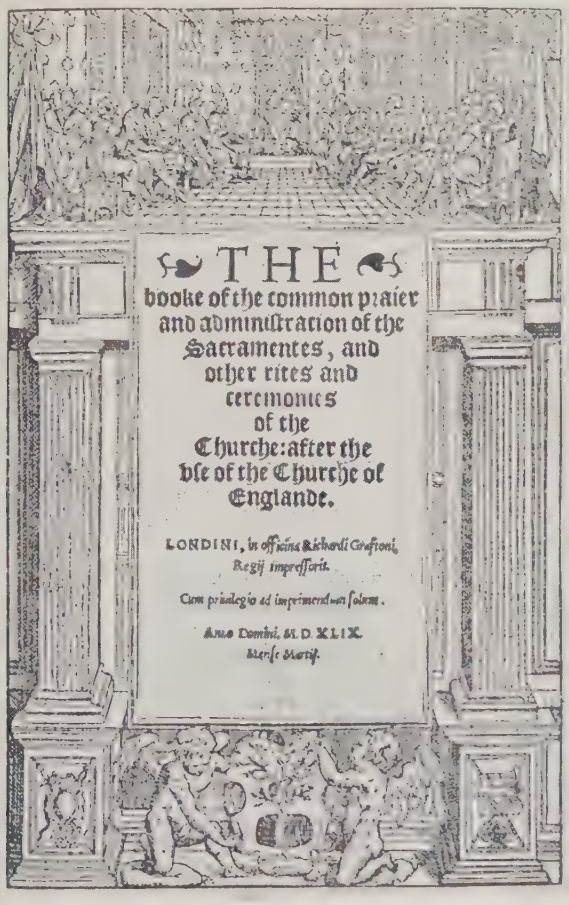
"1547. Candlemas Day.—No candles hallowed or borne. Ash Wednesday.—No ashes.

"1548 March 25. Palm Sunday.—No Palms or Cross borne in procession. Easter Eve.—No fire, but the Paschal Taper and the Font. Easter Day.—The Pix, with the Sacrament, taken out of the Sepulchre, they singing 'Christ is Risen' without procession. Good Friday.—No creeping to the Cross. October 20.—The Cup with the Body of Christ was taken away from the Altars.

"1549. Good Friday.—No Sepulchre, or Service of Sepulchre. Easter Eve.—No Paschal Taper, or Fire, or Incense, or Font. On April 23rd.—Mass, Matins, Evensong, and all other service in English.

"All Mass Books, Graduals, Pies, Portasses, and Legends, brought to the Bishop and burnt."

and rationalising the Catholic services, and explaining everything by Scripture references, overpowered every other. Even kneeling at Communion was defended as "no adoration to


THE
booke of the common praier
and administration of the
Sacramentes, and
other rites and
ceremonies
of the
Churche: after the
vse of the Churche of
Englande.

LONDINI, in officina Richardi Graftoni,
Regij impressoris.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

Anno Domini, M. D. XLIX.
Mense Martij.

TITLE-PAGE TO THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI.

any Real Presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood." The name, the vestments, the symbolic rites of the Mass disappeared; the manual acts of consecration were no longer directed; the posture of the priest was changed from "afore the midst of the altar" to the North Side of the Table; long

exhortations were added in the style of the foreign reformers; yet the revolution was more in rubrics than in text, and the Protestant meaning left implicit in the book was only partially made clear in the new appendix of Cranmer's Forty-two Articles of Religion.

For in the last three years (1549–1552) the Primate had passed from his Lutheran to his final and mainly Calvinistic phase of belief. He differed from the extreme Swiss Sacramentaries in his doctrine of a special, though entirely spiritual, presence in the Eucharist; but under the influence of Bucer, Martyr, Ridley, and John à Lasco, in 1550 he had already left the Lutheran standpoint of his Catechism, translated from Justus Jonas in 1548. The foreign refugees—welcomed in England, endowed with Divinity Professorships at the two Universities, or allowed to settle and form congregations in London and the South-Eastern Counties—combined with Ridley's influence to produce the Archbishop's final confession of faith, which was gradually accepted as the text-book of English orthodox opinion. The "Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament" is based upon the doctrine of Ratramm in the ninth century, and embodies the view which was consciously impressed upon the Second Prayer Book (1552), and which dominated the Anglican divinity of the sixteenth century.

So, whether or no Bertram, the Priest of Corbey, in 880, is only another name for John Scotus Erigena, the proverb of Edward's time will need another step—"Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer leaneth to Ridley, Ridley leaneth to his own singular wit"—and that wit leant to the first Sacramental Controversy of Latin Christendom. The sixteenth century, on the Eucharist and on Predestination, took up the watch-words of the ninth.

Edward VI.'s New Schools.

Lastly, in such matters as education, the young king, though surrounded by adventurers, had firm and generous views of his own. Ultra-Protestant though he was, he wished to make some use of the Church plunder that kept pouring into Court for works of learning and charity. From the £180,000 realised by the sale of chantries, chapels, and their landed property, he endowed or re-endowed twenty grammar schools; and for three classes of poor he especially provided

by three foundations. For "impotent" poor, or rather for their children, he began Christ's Hospital; for "casual" poor he dissolved the Palace of the Savoy and gave the funds to the Hospitals of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew; for "extravagant" poor he aimed at turning the king's palace of

EDWARD VI. PRESENTING BRIDEWELL TO THE CITIZENS OF LONDON.
(*By permission, from the picture by Stretes at Bridewell Royal Free Hospital.*)

Bridewell into a "Spital for ramblers, dissolute and sturdy beggars." These are part of religious history, not only because Church funds provided the means, and many of the new schools were simple refoundations of the old with part of the old endowments, but also because Edward's personal action is directly traced to the sermons and advice of Bishop Ridley.

Yet, on the whole, the verdict upon the religious history of Edward's reign, as upon the Lancastrians, must be "Lack of governance." It was this feeling, "Sauve qui peut," which caused the claims of the clergy in 1547 to be represented in Parliament, to continue the revision of Canon Law and of the Service Books by themselves, and to have provision made for poor incumbents in the "year of first fruits"—of which appeal the "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum" of 1551 was the only result. Whatever else thrived, clerical interests did not. The lay domination of Henry's reign had become a lay tyranny over the Church. Abuses seemed to be amended "in the devil's way—by breaking in pieces." The real reformers were hopelessly outnumbered by the self-seekers, and it was against these that all honest men rebelled. Not a man cried "God save you!" to Northumberland as he rode through London from the Court to secure the person of Mary and the succession of his own House, in 1553. "With tears streaming down his cheeks," the Protestant leader proclaimed the Catholic Princess as Queen, and in this proclaimed also the practical failure of the Protestant movement in England.

CHARLES RAYMOND BEAZLEY. The Catholic Reaction.

THE reign of Mary, as the religious reaction, naturally divides into a time of Old Catholic and of Papal restoration. The Spanish marriage (on July 25, 1554) marks the change from Gardiner's more English and tolerant ascendancy to the persecuting *régime* of Philip and Philip's wife. The queen and her husband maintain the reign of terror in the teeth of growing popular opposition, of Pole's reluctance, of Bonner's weariness.

From her accession, Mary, as a convinced Ultramontane, is set upon formal reunion with Rome; but that reunion is not accomplished till Pole, on November 30, 1554, as Papal Legate, restores the kneeling Parliament, representing the nation, "to the communion of Holy Church."

In the Queen's private chapel and at her coronation (October 1, 1553) the Latin Mass is at once restored: in her Proclamation of August 18 in the same year, the "devilish terms of Papist, Heretic, and such like" are forbidden, along with "private interpretation of God's Word after men's own brains"; but the official restoration of the older Religious

Statutes is only to the last year of Henry VIII.—to 1546-7. But in the next year, Mary and Pole go back behind the Reformation Parliament, and proclaim orthodoxy according to the standard of 1529. The two dates are signs of the twofold spirit and leadership of the Catholic Reaction.

Church and Crown.

During the earlier Ministry of "Wily Winchester," the Royal style of Supreme Head of the English Church is retained; there is no organised persecution; and the Pope is officially ignored. In the Royal Injunctions of March, 1554, the Queen retains the same claims as her father to Spiritual Headship, and, quite after his manner, re-enforces the letter and spirit of the Six Articles of 1539.

We may thus distinguish a more Roman Sovereign, a less Roman Minister and Parliament, a non-Roman aristocracy and middle class—agreed in supporting the Queen's title and the Old Religion, understood in a somewhat elastic sense.[1]

Naturally the question of Mary's personal position called for the first attention; and in the second session of the Queen's First Parliament, Cranmer's sentence against the Queen's mother was annulled, but without reference to the Pope. The Tudor succession was re-established by disregarding all the changes, the storms, and the disinheritings of Henry's fitful reign. Then quickly followed the repeal of various Religious Acts of Edward VI.—for receiving Communion in both kinds, for the abolition of *Congé d'élire*, for abolishing images, for abrogating certain Holy Days, for legalising clerical marriage, for Uniformity of Worship, and for the use of the English Ordinal. The same Parliament passed two acts against Disturbers of Preachers and Unlawful Assemblies, and finally attainted of treason Cranmer, the Dudleys, and five others, of whom three had been already executed.

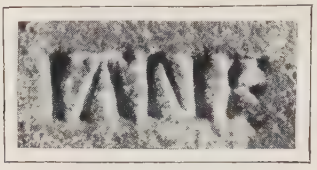
Thus far, Mary's First Parliament had legally restored the Settlement of Henry VIII.: the Queen's Injunctions enforced the same with penalties, and provided (in No. 15) that bishops might "supply the thing wanted in them before" to those ordained by the Edwardian Ordinal of 1550, and "admit them

[1] At the end of the reign Convocation was reviewing the "Institution of a Christian Man," preparing for a new translation of the New Testament, establishing schools at cathedrals, petitioning for the Homilies, Catechism, and Primer in English. (Convocation of January, 1558, under Pole.)

to minister."[1] Convocation, meantime, thinned out by the deprivation of the married clergy and the flight of the Ultra-Protestants, was entirely reactionary. Henry VIII. had governed the Clerical Parliament by terror: Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth got their way in eliminating adversaries. Now it instantly anathematised Poynet's Catechism, which in its last session it had formally approved, and reasserted the Doctrine of the Real Presence.

When Mary's Second Parliament met on April 2, 1554, the marriage with Philip of Spain was announced from the throne as impending, and was at once met with the precaution of the Act for Securing the Royal Power. Philip was to have the title of king but no hand in the government, and, in case of Mary's death, could not succeed her. But popular feeling was not satisfied with Gardiner's fencings; a semi-nationalist, semi-Protestant revolt broke out in Kent, the Midlands, and Devonshire under Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir Peter Carew.[2] Again the reaction overleaped itself—like the Pilgrimage of Grace, a really national movement failed to disturb the deeper feeling of love of order and strong government which had made Henry king and kept him king against all odds. The rebellion provoked the instant deaths of Lady Jane Grey and her husband on February 12, 1554, of her father and Wyatt ten days later, and led to the beginnings of the Persecution.

A Protestant Reaction.



A MEMORIAL.
(*Tower of London.*)

But Mary's political and religious resentments were stimulated by three other events of the same year (1554). On July 25th she was married at Winchester to Philip, "the son of Charles the Emperor," the leader-designate of Catholic Sovereigns; on November 24th Pole entered London as Papal Legate; and on November 30th the Legate absolved the nation, and restored it to the Roman Catholic world. Between

[1] *I.e.*, those consecrated by the old form were to re-ordain, as far as necessary, those ordained only by the English rite.

[2] *Cf.* account in Froude, v., 321, note, of a Protestant outrage committed by the Gibbses, the friends of the Carews.

December 26th and January 4th the Lords and Commons repealed "all Acts and Provisions made against the See Apostolic since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII."; but they added a saving clause—"For the Establishment of all Ecclesiastical Possessions and Hereditaments conveyed to the laity," which showed that the central problems of power and property were still fore-

ALLINGTON CASTLE, NEAR MAIDSTONE.

closed. The Popes could not win back the Church lands and revenues, and Pole, summoned to perform his commission in this matter, but unable to move further, was suspended a few weeks before his death, and denounced by the Jesuits whom he had refused to admit into his Province.

The Marian reaction had still four years to run—and in that time it contrived to ruin itself and the Roman cause by burning heretics. The only wholesale religious persecution in

The Marian Persecution.

English history lies between the Spanish marriage and the death of the Queen: between the arrival of Pole and the last executions of November 10, 1558, we have well-nigh the whole of this most un-English age of English history. Under King Henry's Whip with Six Strings twenty-eight had suffered; under Mary and Pole, at least 277.[1] Yet it was not the half-Italian cardinal, nor the Spanish husband, nor even the chaplains and apparitors whom each brought with him, that really inspired the judicial murders: the Queen herself was the efficient cause of all. She settled and confirmed the death-punishments of nearly 300 men and women for speculative error: her purpose was honest, desperately earnest, but it was none the less "bloody." It was her "rattling letters" that roused the lagging prelates to do their work. "In public and open space were put into the fire really to be burned, to the great horror of their Offence and manifest example of other Christians," five bishops, twenty-one clergy, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artisans, one hundred husbandmen and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children.

Its Features.

In this persecution there is to be noted:—First, the number of eminent men, as well as of poor and ignorant folk, who suffered; second, the foreign or partly foreign blood or connections of many of the sufferers, and the bearing of Zwinglian views upon uncompromising heresy—such as that of Joan Bocher, Anne Askew, or George Paris in earlier time; third, the local distribution of the burnings—which were mainly in the eastern and south-eastern counties; and fourth, the comparative inaction of Gardiner, Bonner, and Pole, and the evident lead taken by the State, rather than by bishops or clergy, as before in defying Rome and defining doctrine, so now in death-punishments for religious heterodoxy.

The third of these points, closely connected as it is with the second, deserves more attention from its hidden meaning. "All the towns conspicuous for persecution were on the old roads between London and the seaports, at which Continental refugees would naturally arrive. The old idea of the exceptional cruelty of the bishops in the capital and the home counties is yielding" to the more natural and better-supported theory that the extreme Sacramentaries, especially the half-socialist

[1] Burnet counts 284, besides 68 who died in prison.

Anabaptists, were most numerous in London, Kent, Essex, and East Anglia.

In the diocese of London perished one hundred and twenty-eight; in that of Canterbury, fifty-five; in that of Norwich, to which the Queen had given her first promises of tolerance, forty-six; in no other did the numbers exceed seven — not even in Oxford, where the three chiefs were burnt and the great controversies held. In Lincoln, Durham, Carlisle, Wells, Hereford, and Worcester there were no "martyrisings."

Attitude of the Bishops.

Again, Gardiner—who was opposed both to the Spanish match and to the Heresy Act of 1554, who fell into the background after the landing of Philip in July and of Pole in November of that year, and who died on November 12, 1555—was too thorough an Englishman, as Pole was too gentle a Christian, to be forward in the judicial massacres, of which he only saw the beginning. During his ascendancy, no heretic was burned in England[1]; till his death no heretic was burned in Winchester diocese; and he never sat on a Heresy Commission save once as Chancellor in the cases of Rogers and Hooper. Pole's Reformation leanings, like Contarini's, were no secret, and John Foxe himself admits that he was not of the "cruel and bloody sort of Papists." Even Bonner, the fierce, revengeful, contemptuous judge—glad to have his old enemies, who had deprived and harassed him, at his mercy—was something of the English gentleman, not wholly lost in the priestly zealot. He tried to save William Hunter of Brentwood; he was reprimanded for his lenity in other cases by the Privy Council. He defends himself by letter in a tone of discontented indifference to the whole business.

The Queen's Feelings.

In fact, the general result is that the Bishops followed and did not prompt the will of their hard-ruled Queen, whose half-Spanish blood explains and suggests much. She felt towards Protestants as her mother had felt; and months after every one of her English Court had sickened of the butchery, she pressed on—as she had threatened in 1553—to the end. Had she borne a son to Philip as she hoped, we might have seen a curious forecast of the Revolution of 1688. As it was, men waited for her approaching death,

[1] Up to July, 1554.

sure of a better successor, as they would have waited for Mary II. to succeed James II., if his unlucky son had not been born to frighten Englishmen with a possible eternity of Jesuit rule.

But though neither Gardiner nor Pole was a born persecutor, they represented different policies, different religious conditions. The one aimed simply at undoing the recent Protestantising movement; the other presided over the definite return to the Roman obedience. Pole wished to see the full medieval system back again, and in that wish he did not stick, as his nature would have led him, at the revival (January, 1555) of the Heresy Laws of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. At this moment the Loyalist and Catholic parties in the majority seemed alike set on severities.

Cranmer, as the head of the Protestant opposition, had been, of course, attainted on the Queen's accession; the new injunctions had fallen upon the married and other Edwardian bishops, who held their sees by letters patent during good behaviour. Tunstall, Gardiner, Bonner, Heath and Day—deprived in the late reign—were restored to Durham, Winchester, London, York, and Chichester. Twelve anti-Roman prelates were displaced. At the beginning of the reign all foreign refugees had been ordered to leave the realm within four-and-twenty days on pain of imprisonment and loss of goods; and some 800 emigrants, with 200 of their English disciples, are said to have fled. Safely on the Continent, like Pole under Henry VIII., these men helped by their furious writings to bring down vengeance upon their friends. "That outrageous pamphlet of Knox's"[1] gave the signal for persecution. Perhaps there was something besides power and opportunity which changed Mary's temper from the tone of her first proclamation to that of her last years. On her accession, "though not hiding the religion which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy . . . . she minded not to compel any her subjects thereunto, until such time as further order by common assent should be taken thereunto." The Protestant threats of murder and rebellion from Zürich and

[1] "A Faithfull Admonition to the Professours of God's Truth in England," 1554. The quotation is from a letter to Calvin from various English refugees at Frankfort; Parker Society, "Original Letters of the English Reformers," p. 760.

Geneva[1]; Knox's war-cry, that no idolator and no woman may rule God's people, for "in the midst of thy brethren shalt thou choose thy king, and not from among thy sisters"; the insults offered at the restoration of the Latin Mass in the larger towns and the more excited country districts, bore their fruit in the musters of Smithfield. Where Latimer had sent images, the Queen now sent men, to be burned.

The gloomy record of these latter years (1555–58), from

STEEL BAND THAT FASTENED CRANMER TO THE STAKE.
(*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

the Spanish marriage and reconciliation with Rome to the death of Pole and his Queen, is lighted up by the heroism of the Marian Martyrs. Whatever of controversial virulence and unscrupulous misrule had disgraced the Protestant ascendancy, was forgotten in the good end made by the nobler spirits of the party, and not least by many of the humbler sufferers. It will be enough to take a few instances—a bishop, a preacher, a scholar, a labourer, and a woman—to

Typical Martyrs.

[1] One Ross, or Rose, was said also, in England, to have prayed publicly for the Queen's death.

show what a stand was made by English society, even by the English poor, against the return to Rome. Hugh Latimer, Rowland Taylor, Rose Allen, William Hunter, and Sir John Cheke—such men and women tell us how deep the social gulf was fixed between a free nation and the Roman-Spanish ideal, as Philip and his chaplains, Da Castro, De Soto, and Villa Garcia understood it. Latimer was the first and greatest of the eminent victims. The one leader of the extreme Protestants at the Court of Henry who had kept a manly freedom, who had "discharged his conscience and framed his doctrine according to his audience," and whose teaching had championed the better side of the Edwardian Reformation, now refused to flee. Though a "sore bruised man, about threescore and seven years of age, yet still at his work, winter and summer, about 2 of the clock every morning," he was "as willing to go to London at this present as ever to any place, doubting not that God, who had made him worthy to preach before two Princes, would enable him to witness to the third, either to comfort or discomfort eternally." And so, getting rid of faithful John Careless, the weaver of Coventry, who, like a true friend, would have died for him if so he could have saved him, Latimer went up before the Council, passing that Smithfield which, he grimly said, had long groaned for him. Committed once again to the Tower, where he had spent the last seven years of Henry's reign, he joked with the Lieutenant. "If he did not guard him better, he would escape . . . . He thought he would burn, but he was like to starve for cold." Again brought before the Council, he twitted the Bishop of Gloucester with garbling Scripture and "clipping of God's coin." He refused all compromise upon the Sacrifice or Presence in the Mass—it was only spiritual—the sacrifice of the Cross was "perfect, and required never again to be done, and God the Father was pacified with that only omni-sufficient and most painful sacrifice of that sweet slain Lamb, Christ our Lord." Systematic theology he refused to discuss. "You look for learning at my hands, which have gone so long to the school of oblivion—the bare walls my library—and now you let me loose to come and answer to Articles." He was sent to burn at Oxford, where he cheered the feebler spirit of Ridley—"Be of good cheer and play the man; we shall

Latimer.

this day light such a candle as shall never be put out"—"and so ended." "Three things," says his chaplain, "he did specially pray. First, for grace to stand till death. Second, that God would restore the Gospel to England once again; and these words, 'once again, once again,' he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him and spake face to face. Third, he prayed for the

THE BURNING OF LATIMER AND RIDLEY.

(*Foxe's "Book of Martyrs,"* 1563.)

life of the Lady Elizabeth, whom with tears he desired for a comfort to this comfortless England."

Latimer was a yeoman's son, and his death was a challenge to his class, the backbone of English life. In him, "a courtier, yet honest," Mary struck not at heresy, men thought, so much as at manhood: his matchless popular eloquence was most felt in his death. While Ridley had grasped at the See of Durham on the eve of his fall, the ex-Bishop of Worcester, the confidant of Edward, would not be drawn from his preaching; and at the last he "received the flame as if embracing it, and stroking his face with his hands, bathed them in the fire,

crying out vehemently in his own English tone, 'Father in Heaven, receive my soul.'"

Taylor. All that is noblest in the Protestant martyrs comes out in "downright Father Hugh"; but Rowland Taylor's death showed the quieter virtues of a man like Chaucer's "Parson of a town" who had never mixed in politics, and had no interest but "Christe's lore." Burnt to death in his own parish of Hadleigh he stood without crying or moving, with his hands folded, till one named Soyce struck him on the head with a halbert, and he fell down dead in the fire. "D. Taylor, in defending that was good, at this plas left his blode," was carved soon after on a rough black stone that marked the site.

Cheke. In Sir John Cheke, the tutor of Edward VI., the model of young Milton, who conformed and so was "restored to liberty, but never to contentment," we have the best type of scholarly Protestant, marked by the royal policy for death or insult. As he recanted, he was only compelled to sit on the bench with Bonner and judge the Essex heretics. The disgrace sickened him of life: in 1557, at the age of 43, he was dead. No one case marks more clearly the special point of the Marian persecution—its systematic attack on men of light and leading. It was not the number but the quality of its victims that so stirred Englishmen. Cranmer, Latimer, Hooper, Ridley, Cheke, Philpotts, Ferrar, Bradford, Bland, and Taylor—it was the degrading and burning of such men that recalled, in a more odious shape, the terror of Thomas Cromwell.

Humbler Victims. But the stories of Rose Allen, or Alice Benden, or William Hunter, are evidence of the deep, if not wide, hold of Protestant belief among the common people. Their obstinacy was invincible, the magistrates reported. In fact, no persecution which, like this, merely dealt with the leaders or typical groups of a great resistance, could be successful. Extermination was the only hope of Mary's policy. Year by year the Protestant minority increased, while the hearts of even "rank Papists" grew cold. One feeling—of utter disgust and hatred of the Government, its burnings and its blunderings, its loss of Calais and of Guines, its failure to fight either with enemies or with heretics—swept over the

people. The mob shouted Amen to the prayers of the last Smithfield victims. The Queen, barren, deserted by her husband, conscious of the intense loathing of her people, whom she believed herself to be saving from national perdition, without support in Council or among the bishops, still

SIR JOHN CHEKE.

(From the picture by Holbein, by permission of his Grace the Duke of Manchester.)

pressed on. Pole, distrusted and suspended by the Pope, left alone with the Queen his cousin, gloomily threw himself into the massacre to prove his orthodoxy. Thus Bonner, who would have saved young Hunter, was forced to send him back to die at Brentwood. He was only nineteen, and he feared that he might flinch: "Good people, pray for me, and despatch me quickly." "Pray for thee," cried some around, "I will no more

Hunter.

pray for thee than a dog!" As the faggots were lighted, he threw the psalter, which he had kept by him, into his brother's hands. "Think on the holy sufferings of Christ," cried the brother, "and be not afraid." "I am not afraid," answered the dying boy.

Rose Allen.

Like him, Rose Allen, of Colchester, thought "the more it burned the less it felt." At the time of her arrest her judge had held her hand in a candle-flame till the sinews cracked. She had a pitcher in the other hand, and "might have laid him on the face with it," but did not; only when released for a time, took up in her burnt hand a cup of drink to her mother bedridden above stairs. Next day she suffered.

At the last, men and women were driven in batches to the stake; thirteen were burnt together at Stratford-le-Bow. Smithfield seemed like a human shambles: it was more than could be borne. Only the death of the Queen prevented a rising of all England; and her persecution, her "bloody" memory, was at the root of the English feeling which has lasted to our own century and caused so much harshness in England, and still more in Ireland, to loyal fellow-citizens—Rather Turk than Pope.[1]

E GORDON DUFF. The English Bible.

THOUGH we have evidence that there was a desire for the Scriptures in English at an early date, we cannot show any version of importance before that issued by John Wycliffe in the fourteenth century, and revised by John Purvey about the year 1388. This version was, we can see, widely read, for we have still in existence numerous manuscripts more or less finely illuminated (Vol. II., p. 231). Printing was introduced into England in 1477 (Vol. II., p. 718), but religious troubles prevented any attempt being made to print a Bible; to have done so would have involved the printer in serious difficulties with the ecclesiastical authorities, if not with the temporal; and our printers were too cautious to run any risks. It is from abroad, therefore, that the earliest version of the English Scriptures comes.

In 1525 Tindale's New Testament appeared, the first portion

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that through a quartan fever in the last month of the year 1558, thirteen bishops and many clergy died, clearing away some of the strongest reactionaries.

of the Scriptures printed in English. Tindale (or Tyndale)[1] was born in Gloucestershire about 1484, and educated at Oxford, though he afterwards moved to Cambridge. After some years' work in England as a tutor and a chaplain, he migrated to the Continent, with an annuity of £10 per annum from his patron Humphrey Monmouth, for the purpose of completing the translation of the New Testament. This work having been finished at Hamburg, Tindale passed on to Cologne and consigned it to Quentall to print. When the work had proceeded as far as the middle of St. Luke's Gospel a raid seems to have been made on the printing office, and Tindale, taking such sheets as were printed, fled with his assistant Joye to Worms. Here the work was entrusted to Peter Schoffer, grandson of the celebrated printer of Mainz, who printed an edition in small octavo, which was finished in 1525.

Tindale's Testament.

This first translation met with little favour amongst the English bishops, and Tunstall, then Bishop of London, preached against it at St. Paul's Cross. So numerous were its errors, that it was considered wise to buy up and destroy all the copies that could be found. This injudicious proceeding encouraged Tindale to continue printing, and the opposition of the ecclesiastical authorities only increased the demand. From Antwerp numerous editions were sent over, badly printed and carelessly corrected, one at least being edited by Tindale's old companion, George Joye. In 1535 Tindale had become so troublesome, that pressure was brought to bear upon the Court of Brussels, and an order was issued for his imprisonment. On Friday, October 16, 1536, he was put to death, and his body burnt, no effort having been made in England to save his life.

In 1533, owing probably to the advocacy of Cromwell and Sir Thomas More, Convocation passed a decree that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue; and at the end of 1534 "begged that his Majesty would vouchsafe to decree that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the king." As the outcome of this movement, the first complete edition of the English Bible was issued in October, 1535.

The First English Bible.

[1] He himself, and the best early authorities, wrote "Tindale."

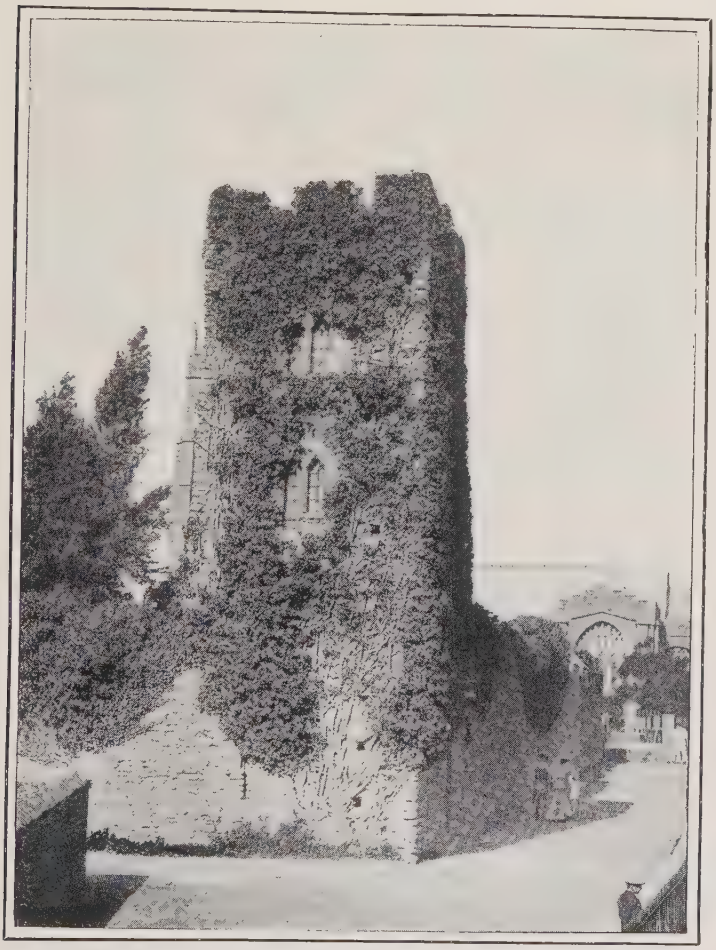
It was translated from the German and Latin versions by Miles Coverdale, and the expenses connected with it were paid by Cromwell. It does not seem, however, to have given entire satisfaction, for we again find Convocation petitioning the king that the Bible might be "by learned men faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue." In 1537 another version, known now as Matthew's Bible, was published "with the king's most gracious license." It was made up partly of Tindale's and partly of Coverdale's translations, with some revisions by John Rogers, and is chiefly remarkable for the quaintness of the side-notes.

The Great Bible.

Coverdale had, in the meanwhile, been engaged on a new translation, assisted by several eminent scholars, and this was finished in 1538. In order that it might be printed in the best possible style, permission was obtained from Francis I. to have it printed in France, and it was entrusted to the hands of Regnault, an eminent Parisian printer. It soon became apparent that vigorous efforts were being made to persuade Francis to withdraw the licence he had given; and it was, therefore, considered the wisest course that each portion as it issued from the press should be conveyed to a place of safety. This was accomplished by the help of Bonner, afterwards Bishop of London, who was then engaged on a political mission to France, and could therefore pass his baggage without examination. In December, 1538, Francis issued an order to stop the further printing of the Bible, and ordering that such portions as had already been finished should be destroyed. As it was now impossible that the printing could be continued in France, Cromwell obtained from Paris such materials as were necessary, and the work was finished at home, the complete book, known as the "Great Bible," being issued in April.

At the end of the same year Henry VIII. issued an injunction preventing anyone for the five years next ensuing from printing any Bibles in the English tongue except by permission of the Lord Cromwell, Keeper of the Privy Seal. A revised edition of the Great Bible, with a prefatory letter by Cranmer, was issued the following year, and numerous editions followed. The curates and parishioners of every parish were commanded to obtain a copy and place it in the church

for the common use of the people, the price being fixed, by the king's command, at ten shillings unbound, and not exceeding twelve shillings bound and clasped. From this translation of



"COVERDALE'S TOWER," PAIGNTON.

the Bible comes the version of the Psalms which is still used in the Prayer-book.

The next important translation of the Bible is the Geneva version, the first edition of which was issued in 1560 at Geneva.

The "Breeches" Bible.

This version is most commonly known as the "Breeches" Bible, from the quaint translation in Genesis iii. 7. It seems to be a popular belief that copies of the "Breeches Bible" are rare, whereas in reality no Bible is so common, for in the fifty years after its first publication over a hundred editions were issued. The notes and translation of this version have, as is natural, a strong Calvinistic tendency, for the work was done by Nonconformists residing in Geneva. Thus it never became an authorised version, being, as James I. said, "the worst translated of all English Bibles," but its handy size and division into verses made it popular with the ordinary people.

GATHERING MANNA.

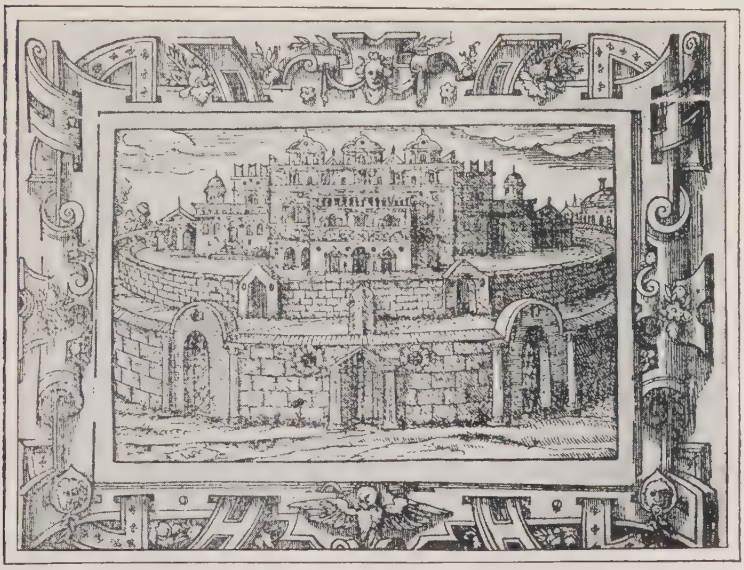
(*Woodcut in the Great Bible of* 1539.)

The Bishops' Bible.

During the reign of Elizabeth a new translation of the Bible was undertaken, in order to supply a version free from the party spirit of the Geneva Bible, and containing the latest work in Biblical scholarship. The work was superintended by Archbishop Parker, who gave out various portions to different bishops to translate, he himself revising the whole as well as translating certain portions. This version is known, on account of the translators, as the "Bishops' Bible," and the first edition was issued in 1568. It was soon afterwards authorised to be read in churches, and Convocation issued an order to compel bishops to purchase copies both for their own houses and for their cathedrals, and in the same way many parish churches were forced to acquire it. The various editions all show consider-

able alterations, especially in the New Testament, and their effect is to be traced in our present version. The Authorised Version.

In 1607 forty-seven translators set to work on another translation of the Bible under the direction of Bancroft, and ended their undertaking in 1610. They followed as far as possible the "ordinary Bible read in churches, commonly called the Bishops' Bible," though it is not possible to determine which edition of it; and their version, which is still our



SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

(*Woodcut in the Bishops' Bible of* 1568.)

authorised version, was issued in 1611. Though it was founded on the Bishops' Bible, many excellent renderings were accepted from the Rheims and Douay versions. The Greek editions used for the New Testament were Beza's of 1582 and Stephens' of 1550, which in their turn were largely taken from the Greek Testament of Erasmus.

THE eleven troublous years occupied by the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary are full of wars and rumours of wars. They witnessed more fighting within the four seas than had been

C. W. C. OMAN. The Development of the Art of War.

seen since the end of the Wars of the Roses, and no such time of turmoil was to come again till the outbreak of the Great Rebellion in 1642. The time was specially notable for the desperate fighting between Englishmen, in the three great rebellions—that of the men of Devon and Cornwall in favour of Romanism in 1549, that of Kett's east-country men directed against social abuses in the same year, and, lastly, Wyatt's rising in the winter of 1552–54, aimed against Queen Mary's Spanish match. In addition, two important episodes of foreign war took place—Somerset's invasion of Scotland, ending in the battle of Pinkie Cleugh in 1547, and Mary's disastrous strife with France in 1557–58.

Very considerable forces were put into the field on several of these occasions—Somerset took 18,000 men into Scotland in 1547, and there must have been as large a number in arms in various parts of England in 1549, when the Devon and Norfolk rebellions were both needing suppression. Luckily, we have very full authorities for the details of most of the fighting, information being as full for the sixteenth century as it is scanty for the fifteenth.

Lessons from the Continent.

The new characteristics which we begin to note in the English armies of the middle years of the century are changes drawn from the experience of Continental wars. The first and most obvious is the growing numbers of the cavalry as opposed to the foot-soldiery, and the abandonment of the old English custom of making the horseman dismount on the battlefield and using him only to strengthen the line of infantry. Since the heavy cavalry of Francis I., aided by the judicious employment of artillery, had broken at Marignano (1515) the hitherto unconquerable pikemen of Switzerland, the reputation of the mailed horseman had been much rehabilitated on the Continent, and it was once more expected that he should be able, under favourable circumstances, to ride down infantry. But the infantry must be caught unprepared or else shaken by the use of firearms before the charge was delivered upon them. Hence came the practice of furnishing cavalry with harquebuses or pistols, to enable them to open gaps in the enemy.

In the army which Somerset commanded at Pinkie there were six thousand horse to ten thousand foot, the largest pro-

portion of the former that had ever yet been seen in an English army. Naturally, therefore, in the battle itself there was much more use of the cavalry arm than had been seen in any fight on British ground since Edward I.'s victory at Falkirk. It is worth noting that to raise this large body of horse Somerset had, contrary to English custom, enlisted several bands of foreign mercenaries. Among the men at arms were a body of Italians under a captain named Malatesta. Many of the hackbut men or harquebusiers also were Spaniards or Italians, commanded by Pedro Gamboa, a Spanish soldier of fortune. Apparently, two hundred out of the six hundred of these primitive dragoons were foreigners. To eke out the horse the "Bulleners" had also been brought across the water. These

HENRY VIII.'S BREECH-LOADING MUSKET.
(Tower of London.)

were a corps of five hundred light cavalry, enlisted for service as the garrison of Boulogne; they were the nearest approach to a permanent regiment of regular troops that had yet been seen in England. Peace existing with France, it was possible to bring them over for the Scottish war.

The use of Firearms.

The infantry were still "bows and bills" of the old fashion, but they were supplemented by a certain amount of troops furnished with firearms, though we do not hear of more than six hundred of these "hackbutters afoot," as Holinshed calls them. The artillery was far more numerous and also more movable than it had been in the armies of the last generation, and there was a considerable body of pioneers with the expedition.

The Scots came out, as of old, with their great masses of pikemen in solid squares. To some thirty thousand foot they had but eight hundred or a thousand horse, and this force,

divided into two small bodies, did them no service in the day, save threatening for one moment to attack the English artillery in flank, an enterprise from which they promptly swerved when they saw succour approaching.

The Lessons of Pinkie.

The fight of Pinkie was not one of the battles of the old type, in which the Scots waited in position—as at Falkirk, Bannockburn, or Flodden—to receive the English attack. Both parties rapidly advancing to seize the same point of vantage, they came into line against each other on the side of the hill, the Scots on the lower, the English on the higher slope. Somerset's cavalry had outmarched his infantry and guns, in their haste to occupy the crest of the ridge, and hence they got into action long before the rest of the army was up. The main body of the English horse, some 3,200 lances in two divisions, charged downhill on to the Scottish van, the most advanced of the three "battles" in which the enemy was advancing. The solid mass of pikemen flung the cavalry back with great loss, but could not pursue them up the hill, along whose crest the rest of the English army was now getting into line. They remained halted where they were, in a position half-way up the slope, which meant ruin whether they advanced or retreated. Somerset ordered forward his guns to the edge of the ridge, sent forward archers and hackbutters to gall the Scottish columns, and charged them again with the whole of his cavalry, when they began to falter. This time the horsemen broke into the gaps in the line of spears, rolled the shattered masses downhill, and massacred them as they fled. Thus Pinkie, like Falkirk (Vol. II., p 51.), was a demonstration of the powerlessness of the pike against horsemen combined with missile weapons. If it had not been for the cannon and archery the columns might no doubt have held their own against the cavalry. The crash with which Lord Grey's first charge was thrown back is described as being fearful. The Scots "stood at defence, shoulders nigh together, the fore ranks stooping low before, well nigh to kneeling, their fellows behind holding their pikes in both hands, the one end of the pike against the right foot, the other against the enemy's breast, so nigh as place and space would suffer, so thick that a bare finger shall as easily pierce through the bristles of an angry hedgehog as any encounter the front of their pikes."

From this formidable mass Grey's cavalry were dashed back with ease; they could not get near the men in the hostile front line, and fell stricken, horse and rider, eight feet in front of it. But when, instead of a cavalry charge, the pikemen had to face salvoes of artillery delivered from a distance of two

TOWER AT PINKIE HOUSE, MUSSELBURGH.

hundred yards, and a pelting fire of archery, the very denseness of their array was their ruin. They could not stand the fire for long, broke, and then were charged, and fled down the slope, "leaving the hillside like a woodyard," from the countless staves of the pikes that they cast away.

In the year 1549 we find that Somerset used an unprecedented number of foreign mercenaries against the rebels—not

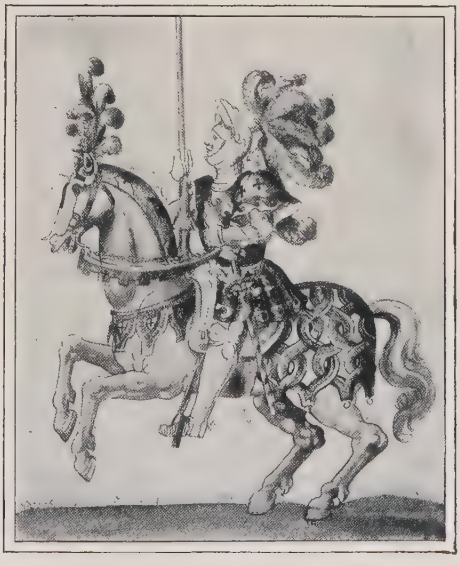
Foreign Mercenaries.

merely a few hundred harquebusiers such as had been seen at Pinkie, but large corps of both horse and foot. It seems a curious instance of the irony of fate that against the devoted Romanists who raised the Devonshire rebellion, Somerset employed a regiment of Italian foot, under one Spinola, all armed with the harquebus, it would appear; while at the same moment the riotous Reformers of Norfolk were being put down by a force under Northumberland which included 1,400 Protestant German lanzknechts. Probably this employment of foreigners on a large scale was dictated as much by a fear of the possible misbehaviour of English shire-levies when opposed to rebels, as by a reliance on the disciplined courage of the Italians or Germans, or a confidence in the superiority of their new firearms to the old English bow. Indeed, the bowmen do not seem to have felt any inferiority to the harquebusiers; it was not the deficiency of their infantry weapons, but their almost entire want of cavalry, that was the ruin of the rebels. For both in Devon and Norfolk the insurgents could put few or no horsemen into the field; the gentry and richer yeomanry, who alone were wont to serve in the mounted arm, having, almost without exception, remained loyal to the Government. Kett had a few scores of horse in his camp at Mousehold Heath, but they shirked the fighting, and are said to have been "good for booty alone and not for blows."

MUSKETEER.
(Tower of London.)

The Rebellions.

It was this want of horse which caused the rebels in both parts of England to prefer defending entrenched positions, bridges, or barricaded villages, to facing the king's troops in



MILITARY COSTUME, 1530-1560. (MS. Aug. A. iii.)

the open field. Nearly all the fighting took place in or about towns or villages, or in front of fortified camps, and the engagements, though fierce and frequent, did not take the shape of battles. It is to be noted that cannon had grown common in England during the last generation, and that the rebels found it easy to obtain them, partly (it would seem) by taking them from ships—for merchant vessels in those troublous times generally carried a few small guns—and partly by seizing them from the houses and castles of the neighbouring gentry. Both in Devon and Norfolk we hear a good deal of the insurgents' artillery, and Kett's master-gunner, one William Miles, seems to have handled his guns very efficiently and done considerable service with them.

That Somerset and his successor, Northumberland, were wise, from their own point of view, when they employed foreigners against English insurgents, is sufficiently shown by the events of 1553–54. The native levies had no affection or loyalty whatever for either of the Protectors; their only feeling of respect and obedience was for their sovereign, and for the self-seeking minister they had nothing but distrust. This appeared clear enough when Northumberland raised troops to support the usurpation of his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, and to put down the adherents of Queen Mary, the obvious heir to the throne by all rules of succession. First the host sent out under the Protector's son, and afterwards that which he himself led out for the invasion of the eastern counties, melted away when bidden to attack the Queen's levies. Not a man could be induced by personal attachment to the Protector to strike a blow against the rightful Queen.

When Wyatt, a few months later, raised Kent in arms to protest against Mary's Spanish match, he was well aware of this fact. He and his confederates may have contemplated the Queen's ultimate deposition, but they kept their plan to themselves, protested their loyalty, and only claimed to be rising against evil councillors and traitorous advisers. The rebels' proclamation impeached the ministers, but said no word against Mary herself. It was this fact that brought about Wyatt's first successes, as well as his ultimate failure. Men joined him because they disliked the Spanish match and

the predominance of the Romanists at Court. But they began to melt away from him when the Queen made her ministers' quarrel her own, came forward in person to call for her subjects' loyal service, and showed herself at the head of her forces. It was the conviction that after all they were traitors, levying war against their lawful mistress, that made Wyatt's men leave their colours and disperse in the latter days of the rising. When the final attack on London was delivered, less than a thousand rebels remained with their leader, and these were the desperate zealots who could not endure Popery, or the men who had made themselves so prominent that they knew that no tardy submission would bring them pardon.

The London Militia.

It is worth while noting that during Wyatt's rebellion we learn that the organisation of the London militia into "bands" with a fixed uniform had been completed. All had been clothed in white coats, and in the fighting about Charing Cross and Westminster, much confusion was caused by the fact that both the men who had deserted to Wyatt and those who had adhered to the Queen wore the same clothing. The rebels were recognised by the fact that they were muddy from a long night march over miry roads, and the loyalists' cry was "Down with the daggle-tails!"

After Wyatt had been put down, there was no serious rebellion in England against Mary, and the only fighting in which English troops were engaged in her latter years was the campaign of St. Quentin. The force which was sent to aid King Philip was composed of five thousand men. Its muster-rolls are preserved, and we note in them the first use of the familiar word "regiment" that is found in the English army. The whole expedition is called "a regiment of 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot." Of the horse half were men-at-arms, half light-horse or "demi-lances." Each of these bodies was divided into five "bands" of one hundred men, headed by a captain, lieutenant, and "ancient." The foot were in forty companies of one hundred men, each headed by a captain, but there seems to have been no unit of organisation larger than the company. It is to be presumed that if called upon to form a line of battle, they would still have drawn up in the old "vaward, main-battle, and rearward" formation, with their

The first "Regiment."

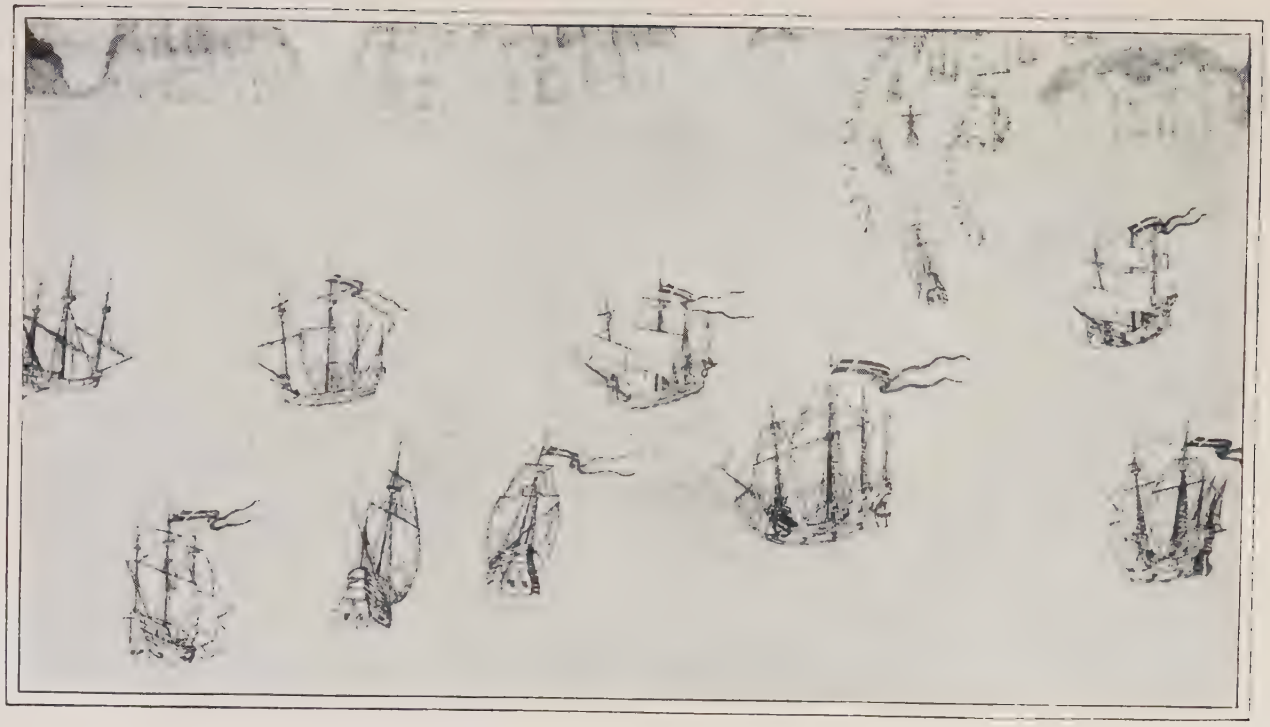
cavalry on the wings. But, as they only formed part of a large allied army, they were not called upon to do any separate fighting of their own.

W. LAIRD CLOWES. Maritime Warfare and Commerce.

THE reign of Edward VI. witnessed a decline in the strength of the Navy bequeathed to him by his father's government. Henry died in 1547, leaving a fleet of seventy ships, of which thirty were large ones, and two galleys. Edward died in 1553, leaving a fleet of only fifty-eight ships. Progress was chiefly stayed by the dissensions between the Lord Protector and his brother, the Lord High Admiral, and by the petty jealousies and selfish ambitions which too often flourish during a minority. The *personnel* of the navy did not, however, deteriorate, and whenever the navy was employed, it conducted itself upon the whole with great credit. Its co-operation in Scotland with the land forces in 1547 is noteworthy as being the first example of its kind in our history; and there can be no doubt that the victory of Musselburgh was due in a great measure to the effect of the flanking fire of the English ships upon the Scots army. The prompt action of the gallant Captain William Winter, in falling upon the very superior French force which was blockading the Channel Islands in 1549, was another enterprise worthy of the growing spirit of the sea-service. But the Navy was ill-managed and badly looked after in London, and consequently its usefulness abroad was cramped; and the piratical adventurers, who had for a time been cowed by the vigorous policy of Henry VIII., began once more to render the narrow seas very insecure.

A Board of Admiralty.

During this short reign ordinances were first issued for the conduct of the principal officers of the Navy, and these ordinances form the basis of all later instructions which have since been promulgated for the civil government of the Navy. The officers appointed to manage the affairs of the Navy Office were: the Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, the Master of the Ordinance, the Surveyor of Marine Causes, the Treasurer, the Controller, the General Surveyor of the Victualling, the Clerk of the Ships, and the Clerk of the Stores; and they were directed to meet once a week at the office on Tower Hill, to consult together for the good order of the Navy, and to report



SHIPPING IN THE CHANNEL (MS. Aug. A. ii. 70)

their proceedings once a month to the Lord High Admiral. To each member were also assigned certain specified duties.

The Mercantile Marine

The Government was happily less remiss in its attention to commerce than in its attention to the fleet. In 1548 an Act was passed for entirely opening the Newfoundland trade, and for removing various obstacles by which up to that time it had been hampered. In the same year the English merchants in Antwerp complained of certain hardships under which they suffered, and obtained the interposition of Edward's ambassadors. When the regency of the city suggested that it was strange that a king of England should more regard a company of merchants than the friendship of a great emperor, Smith, the king's agent, made the highly honourable reply: "The king, my master, will support the commerce of his subjects at the hazard of the friendship of any monarch upon earth."

The privileges of the English merchants in Antwerp dated from 1466, and were very valuable. At that time, according to a memorial which in Elizabeth's days was addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, there were not in all the town above four hundred merchants, nor were they adventurers by sea; and the town was poor. But after the settlement of the English, rents rose, excise duties and tolls increased, and the Antwerpers, who had possessed but six vessels, became exceedingly wealthy, and great builders of ships and shippers of merchandise. And so thoroughly did the Emperor Charles V. realise the importance to Antwerp of the English element there, that, although he resisted the protestations of princes against his proposed establishment of the Inquisition in the city, he quickly gave up the project when in 1550 he discovered that, if he pursued his plan, the English merchants would desert the Low Countries.

The Government also did much for the encouragement of trade with France, and for the repression of the shipping of goods in foreign bottoms. In the meantime the Levant trade grew, and the trade with Guinea was securely established, chiefly by the exertions of Thomas Wyndham, who made three voyages to the African coast. Other extensions of English commerce and English maritime adventure will be dealt with in the next section (p. 301, *seq.*).

The peaceful accession of Mary to the throne was much

facilitated by the action of a squadron of six men-of-war, which had been despatched by the Duke of Northumberland in the interests of Lady Jane Grey to watch the coast of Suffolk, and to prevent the princess from leaving the country. The ships were driven by stress of weather into Yarmouth, where they were boarded by Sir Henry Jernegam, a bold and tactful partisan, who, in a few hours, persuaded their commanders to desert Lady Jane and to acclaim as Queen the princess upon whose liberty they had been ordered to place restraint. The Navy more honourably distinguished itself in the following year by formally exacting a recognition of England's claim to the dominion of the narrow seas. Philip of Spain, accompanied by a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail, came to celebrate his marriage with Mary at Winchester. William, Lord Howard of Effingham, the father of the great admiral who subsequently commanded against the Armada, was at sea with a small squadron, when he sighted the Spanish fleet coming up the Channel. Philip's admiral carried the Spanish flag at the main, and this Howard would not brook. He refused to salute until the Spaniard should lower his colours and strike his topsails, and, when the visitor showed a disposition to argue the point, Howard fired a shotted gun across his bows and so secured his obedience. This is, says Campbell, in an outburst of patriotism and capital letters, "a circumstance worthy of immortal REMEMBRANCE, and, one would think too, of IMITATION." And Schomberg's comment is: "An action highly meritorious and worthy imitation."

The Navy under Mary.

Nevertheless, the navy declined. Mary found fifty-eight vessels composing it; she left only forty-six. And all belonging to the service was mismanaged. Calais, then an important naval station, was taken by the French, owing to the indifference of the English Government; and a squadron, sent under Vice-Admiral Sir John Clere to annoy the Scots pirates and to protect the home-coming Iceland fleet, met with serious disaster, owing to its being too weak for the duties required of it, and lost the commander-in-chief, three captains, and a great many men. The fleet, however, was able to do good work in 1558, by co-operating with Count Egmont at the Battle of Gravelines, and so discomfiting the left wing of the French, exactly as a few years before it had confused the

Scots at Musselburgh. Calais had for two hundred years been of great strategical value to England in all her wars with France, since its possession enabled us to provision our expeditionary forces by means of the fleet, and gave us security along our main line of communications. What its loss meant to us was otherwise well shown in 1588, when the Spanish

BIRDS-EYE VIEW OF CALAIS (MS. Aug. A. ii. 70)

Armada anchored before the place. Had it been in English hands, the Spaniards could not have enjoyed even the small respite that the fortress afforded to them.

In 1553, the celebrated *Henri Grace à Dieu*, which had in the meantime been re-named the *Edward*, was accidently burnt at Woolwich: and for many years afterwards there was no ship in the English navy equal to her in size or magnificence.

After the death of the elder Cabot, his son Sebastian disappears from history till the year 1512 (Vol. II., p. 675). When

he reappears, it is as a captain in the Spanish service, which he is said to have entered in disgust at the negligent meanness of his English patronage; but in 1517 we find him in the service of Henry VIII., and employed with Sir Thomas Perte in the Trial of the North-West Passage. He now reached latitude 67° 30′, and it was said that he even entered Hudson's Bay and "gave English names to sundry places therein." But the whole of this is doubtful;[1] the very scene of the discoveries in one tradition is shifted from the far north to the far south, and it is only certain that Perte quarrelled with his Italian colleague[2] and the crews mutinied. It was probably from the effect of these disappointments that Sebastian again left the English service for the Spanish, only to return[3] to the former when, on the accession of Edward VI., English mercantile ambition had at last bestirred itself to some genuine effort, and the great enterprise of the North-East passage, tried sixty years before by the Portuguese of King John II., was undertaken afresh by the Merchant Adventurers of London. With this, continuous English discovery begins. The first half of the sixteenth century, though it cannot be included in medieval enterprise, is still less a part of modern exploration. It is essentially the time of change and preparation, when foreign mariners drilled into the English mind some understanding of that expansion of Europe that men saw going on all round them. By the time of this new trial of the Russian trade and North-East passage, native English feeling was ready to work in its own interest for its own gains, and with this we are fairly entered upon the age of the adventurers and discoverers who founded our colonies and our world-wide commerce.

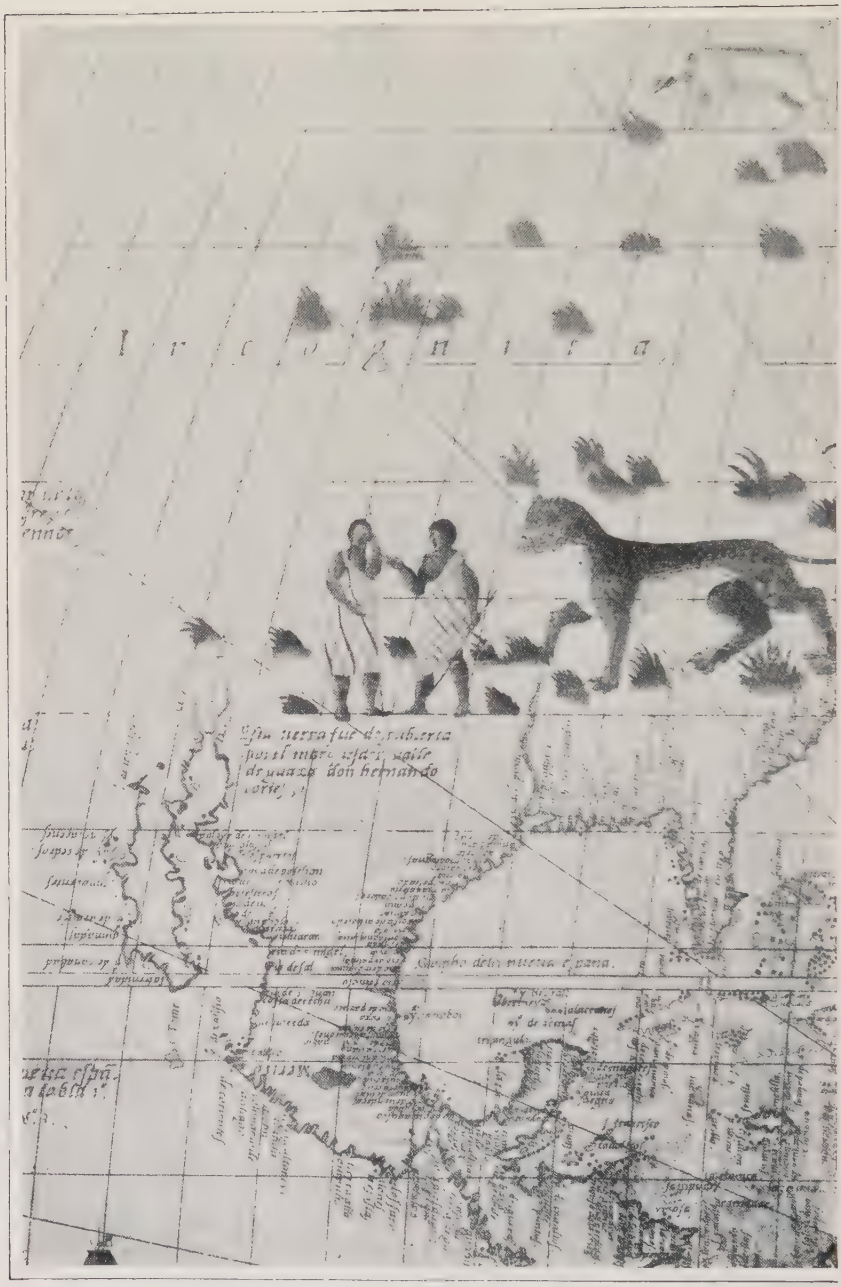
As early as 1549, Sebastian Cabot received a yearly pension of 250 marks and stepped into the place of Geographer Royal[4] —if a title may be coined for him—that is, he became the chief

[1] Some recent authorities, it may be noted, throw considerable doubt on Cabot's claims as a discoverer. *Cf.* Harrisse, "Discovery of North America;" and C. H. Coote, art. "Cabot" in the Dictionary of National Biography.

[2] As in the first English voyage to Guinea and Benin, 1553, the English Captain Wyndham quarrelled with the "Portugal" Pinteado.

[3] But *cf.* Hakluyt's "Voyage of two Englishmen to the River of La Plata in South America in the Company of Sebastian Cabota," 1527.

[4] Grand Pilot of England, Hakluyt calls him, from the Original Pension Grant of Edward VI., with £166 13s. 4d. per annum.



SECTION OF CABOT'S

(*Gulerie de Géographie.*

MAP OF THE WORLD.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

adviser of the Government in all matters touching the new movement in trade and exploration, and although this movement did not issue in any great attempt before the Russian voyage of 1553, the short reign of Edward VI. is throughout one of readiness—one in which nautical enterprise was not only talked of but entered on, though the king died before any great success could be achieved.

Cabot's Ordinances.

Hakluyt, in his great collection of English voyages, gives us "the Ordinances, Instructions, and Advertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage (of Chancellor and Willoughby) to Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered by Sebastian Cabot, Governor of the Mystery and Company of the Merchant Adventurers for the discovery of Regions unknown," under date of May 9th, 1553. And these ordinances, thirty-three in number, make up a sort of Whole Duty of Man, as seaman, as Protestant, and as trader. "There is to be no dissension," says the first, "among the crews." "Loyalty and obedience to king and captains" is the gist of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th. Ordinances 5 and 6 keep captains in check by a council. "Log and journal to be kept," says the 7th; "All to be done by common consent," adds the 8th; "Weekly accounts to be kept," by ordinance the 9th; "Discipline to be observed," by the 10th; "Unprofitable persons to be put on shore," says the 11th; "No blasphemy and bawdy talk to be allowed," by the 12th. The 13th orders daily prayers twice, and the Bible and Paraphrases to be read, but, by the 22nd, there was to be no religious controversy on board and no preaching or proselytising in foreign ports. Temperance, cleanliness, and the use of "liveries and necessary dress," are laid down in the 15th, 16th, and 17th articles of this code, which certainly does not make the mistake of expecting too little. By the 18th and 19th "all are to bear one another's burdens," the sick are to be looked after by the "whole," and the goods of any that may die are to be kept for their widows and orphans. The 20th and 21st forbid all private bargaining—every one is to remember he belongs to a Company and Mystery.

Information, says the 23rd ordinance, is to be got from the natives wherever possible about new countries and their trade, "and if such persons," suggests the 24th, "be made drunk with your wine ye shall know all their secrets." The

last nine Articles are on Matters of Discipline:—The crews are never to go far inland; they are never to enrage foreigners by laughing at their outlandish ways; descriptions of all new lands are to be written down; natives must be "allured to the ships by a brave show and noise." If any go to entertainments on shore, it must be armed and in a strong party; but the men are not to be "frighted of barbarians." Watch is always to be kept on board, and the London merchants are to be well advertised of all that is doing. So ends the last act of Sebastian Cabot as Grand Pilot of England, except that the journal of Stephen Burrough mentions him at Gravesend a little later, very eager about the success of the Russian venture.

On his deathbed (1557) he told his friend Eden "that he had the knowledge of finding the longitude by Divine revelation, yet so that he might not teach any man," at which Eden reflected "that the good old man was in that extreme age somewhat doted, and had not yet, even in the article of death, utterly shaken off all worldly vain glory."

Other Explorers.

The actual story of this voyage and its results belongs to the reign of Mary, and the heroic age of continuous English enterprise—the age of Elizabeth. With Cabot's instructions and the sailing of the *Edward Bonaventure* and the *Bona Esperanza* from the Thames in 1553 we enter a new period. Yet before passing on into this it may be well to see if there are other forerunners of the great seamen of Elizabeth besides foreigners in English service. Now Hakluyt's collection, at the end of the sixteenth century, of the "Voyages of the English Nation" gives us many pages of the original records of these earlier ventures of our sea-dogs into fields where they were soon to take a foremost place; and they are too important and interesting a chapter of our history, and far too valuable for the understanding of England's great expansion into an Empire, to be quite passed over.

Thorne's "Declaration."

First, in 1527, the way had been prepared by the "Declaration of the Indies and Lands discovered and subdued unto the Emperor and the King of Portugal and of other lands of the Indies and rich countries still *to be* discovered, which the Worshipful Master Robert Thorne, merchant, of London, who dwelt long in the city of Seville, exhorted King Henry VIII.

to take in hand." Besides this, the same Master Robert has left us a book of the same time, and written with the same object, which is "an Information of the Lands Discovered and of the Way to the Moluccas by the North." And Thorne's Declaration is not merely an account of what Portuguese and Spaniards had already found, and what Englishmen who followed them might find. It has a special point of its own; for it suggests not only what to do, but how to do it—in a way that might secure at least one of the great trade-routes for an English monopoly. As the men of Prince Henry the Navigator had opened a new waterway round Africa to India by the Cape of Good Hope, so now, says Master Robert, our people may open a new waterway round the North of Europe and Asia to Cathay and the Indies. This is the only side still left open, he repeats again and again; all the rest of the world, all the other possible routes (except the North-West Passage) have been already taken up. So English explorers should try to go by Tartary to Malacca and back by the Cape of Good Hope, or by the North of America across the Pacific, returning by Magellan's Straits—"the Dragon's Tail" or Strait of All Saints; or they might even venture on a third expedient, which sounds a little like the famous attempt of Dr. Nansen to reach and pass the Pole by drifting. "After they be past the Pole, they are to go straight toward the Pole Antarctick: and then to decline towards the seas and lands situate between the Tropics and under the Equinoctial, where without doubt they shall find the richest lands and islands of the world—with gold, balms, spices, precious stones, and other things that we here most esteem, which come out of strange countries—and may return the same way."

In his book, the worshipful merchant alludes to Cabot's Voyage of 1526 in the Spanish service, and compares the products of the Tropics with our own, even to the "Cards by which they sail, tho' much unlike ours." Then, with the help of a map of his own drawing, he tries to prove that "our way (by North-East or North-West Passage) to the said Spiceries should be nearer by almost 2,000 leagues than the way of the Emperor or the King of Portugal"; and that the "land that we found (The New Found Land and Labrador) is

THORNE'S MAP, FROM HAKLUYT'S "VOYAGES."

all one with the Indies." For Master Robert, after assuming the existence of the Pacific, and making his North-West "passagers" return by Magellan's Straits, is too anxious for his proof that England has already a right to, and even a footing in, the Indies to be troubled by such small inconsistencies as this dropping out of an ocean.

"But the coast from the Indies (he proceeds) runneth southward towards a certain Strait Sea called 'of all Saints' (Straits of Magellan), by which Strait Sea the Spaniards go to their Spiceries." From "our New Found Land" to the Strait of All Saints, at the extreme south of the American Continent, he reckons 5,000 leagues, and "our way by the Pole to the Spiceries" at 2,000 leagues, as against 4,000 for either Spaniards by Magellan's Straits or Portuguese by the Cape of Good Hope. In answer to the objection of unbearable cold in this Polar route, he very plausibly uses the recent disproof of the parallel objection of unbearable tropical heat by the earlier ventures of Portuguese and Italian seamen. "For no land is uninhabitable and no sea is unnavigable. Nihil fit vacuum in Rerum Natura."

The North-East and North-West Passages.

It was as a result of such reasoning that the English attempts on the North-East Passage begin with the voyage of Chancellor and Willoughby in 1553, which, however unsuccessful in its main object, was the beginning of continuous English discovery, and had success enough, in its exploration of the White Sea and its opening of the trade with Russia, to keep alive the mercantile interest in the prosecution of a scheme which Baron Nordenskjöld of Sweden, when for the first time he brought a ship round the north coast of the Old World, declared to be just practicable, but thoroughly useless. With equally futile energy the North-West Passage, since Cabot's voyage of 1497, had been tried by John Rut in 1527, who coasted north to 53°, some way beyond the eastern point of Labrador, and returned by way of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and the coast of Maine.

So much for voyages to North and North-East parts during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. We have a plan laid down, but little done to put it in practice till England has been fully roused to her work of commerce and colonising discovery.

Of voyages to the South and South-East during this period Hakluyt makes two classes—those within and those without the Straits of Gibraltar. The first of these, relating to the Mediterranean trade of English ports, is not of much interest, except in purely commercial history. The Voyage of the *Holy Cross* and the *Matthew Gunson* to Crete and Chios in 1534, Thomas Chaloner's Voyage to Algiers with Charles V. in 1541, the Voyage of Roger Bodenham to the Levant in 1550, the Voyage of John Lok to Jerusalem in 1553, supply us with plenty of evidence of the progress of English trade, give us an early English survey of the Mediterranean coasts, and tell the story of the Turks' attack on Malta and the Knights of St. John—but they are not in any sense exploration. **The Mediterranean Trade.**

There is more of this in the second class of Southern voyages—those outside the Straits. For though the South Atlantic had now been explored during three generations by Portuguese seamen, it was now, in the early years of the sixteenth century, that Englishmen first made their way on to the new ground, both land and sea, that had been won for Europe and Christendom since the days of Henry the Navigator. On this side there is a Note by another Thorne—a Nicholas, who, like Robert, is a merchant and a patriot—"of the English trade to the Canaries." This note was made not later than 1526, and "by probability much before this," says Hakluyt, for Thorne and others had long "exercised usual and customary trade to the same islands." From an "old ledger book" Nicholas gives extracts about this West African trade. "A barter" was held with West Indian goods in Teneriffe; the products of the Canaries—sugar, dye-wood, kid-skins—were regularly shipped to England, and there was a record of one English merchant, Tom Tison by name, who lived as a resident in these parts before the time at which Thorne was writing. **The South Atlantic.**

A description of the Canaries, "made by Thomas Nicholls, who lived there seven years," is printed by Hakluyt under the year 1547; and this, with the voyage of the *Lion*, of London, to Morocco in 1551, helps to illustrate Thorne's note. For, though commonplace enough in themselves, these entries give us the promise of a great future; and the same thoughts, the same vast ambitions and restless energy come out in the

memoranda of these merchants as in the more scientific work of Robert Thorne, or in the achievements of Chancellor or Drake. In the letter, for instance, of James Aldaie to his friends in London about the Morocco trade, "the said Aldaie" not only writes "as the inventor of the said trade," but also "as having been acquainted with the intent to prosecute the old intermitted discovery of Cathay." Again, the first voyage to Barbary in 1551 is followed by a second in 1552, and a third in 1553, the year of Chancellor's start for Muscovy and China, when "T. Windham" brought the first English ship to Guinea and the Bight of Benin—or, in other words, fairly rounded Cape Verde and sailed into the Southern Seas, nearing the line which, a century before, the first Europeans —the men of Prince Henry—were approaching with guilty shudderings and a sure and certain prospect of being turned into Blackamoors.

As might be expected, this poaching on the Portuguese preserves was dangerous work. The men were furious who had explored the Atlantic only to shut and keep it against all rivals, and a good deal of diplomatic skill was wanted to prevent an open war. This is plain enough in Hakluyt's account "of the anger of the Portugals," and in the letter he gives from Henry VIII. to John III., under the year 1531, "in the matter of a Portugal ship freighted at Chios with the goods of John Gresham and others, wrongfully unladen in Portugal." As early as 1481 the Court of Lisbon had interfered to guard its monopoly of Africa and the Southern Ocean from English intermeddling, and Edward IV. had promised John II. to "stay John Tintarn and William Fabyan from preparing for their voyage to Guinea."

The old alliance of the English and Portuguese Crowns, dating from the twelfth century, which had given John I. and Prince Henry an "English aid at the taking of Ceuta in Barbary" in 1415, and which had drawn Englishmen into the Court of the same Prince Henry, the founder and hero of modern discovery, was now in great danger through the irrepressible energy of volunteers. The old Royal embargo on unlicensed voyagers, which punished them with torture and death—breaking on the wheel and "martyrizing" all who could be caught; the old Royal veto, "Let every man stay in

his element; I am not partial to travelling seamen," was more and more hard to enforce as the chance of gain became greater and the field larger, as the whole of European society got fired with the love of gain and of adventure and with the consciousness of power. It was not only the Government, but the people, who carried to success the schemes of Henry of Portugal, and who in England turned the national ambition away from a continental to a colonial empire.

Voyages to America.

Lastly, the same thing—the new popular interest—appears in Hakluyt's third book "Of Voyages to the Western parts of the World," where the Cabots are not the only men who "do service to the Crown of England." In May, 1527, there is the voyage of John Rut's two ships, already noticed, for the prosecution of the North-West Passage, for the extension of the knowledge already gained of North America. In 1536 there is a voyage "of M. Hore and divers others" to Newfoundland and Cape Breton. Some time before 1526 there is a voyage of Tom Tison, the Teneriffe merchant, to the West Indies: in 1530 and 1532 Master William Hawkins, the father of Sir John, makes the first two English voyages to The Brazil, and in 1540 and 1542 "one Reiniger" and "one Pudsey" repeat Hawkins' venture. By the year 1548 America has become important enough to draw the attention of the English Parliament, and an Act (2 Edw. VI.) regulating the fisheries of Newfoundland is not only the first statutory notice of the New World in our own country, but is itself a proof of the way in which governments and courts and councils, whether they liked it or no, were being forced into exploration, into the colonising movement that was bound to follow discovery, by the universal outbreak of private enterprise. "Might of the people made us to reign."

Exploration under Mary: Willoughby and Chanceler.

The five years of Mary's reign saw the beginning of the great onward and outward movement of English exploration, adventure, and trade—the first steps in the road to colonisation. And in this beginning the most striking feature is certainly the trial of the North-East Passage—"the New Navigation and Discovery of the Kingdom of Muscovy, enterprised in the year 1553 by Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and performed by Richard Chanceler, pilot major of the voyage."

We have seen what instructions—detailed, careful, business-

like—were given to the fleet by Sebastian Cabot before it started. All the story of its preparation belongs to the reign of Edward; the story of its achievements belongs as much, as entirely, to his sister's. For the young king was already failing when the start was made, and "not long after the departure of these ships, the lamentable and most sad accident of his death soon followed."

And Hakluyt tells us very distinctly that the enterprise of 1553 was not an accident. "At what time our merchants perceived the commodities and goods of England to be in small request with the countries and people about us and near to us, and that those merchandises which strangers did earnestly desire were now neglected and the price thereof abated, though by us carried to their own ports, and all foreign merchandises in great account, certain grave citizens of London began to think how this mischief might be remedied. Neither was a remedy wanting—for as the wealth of the Spaniards and Portuguese, by the discovery and search of new trades and countries, was marvellously increased; supposing the same to be a means for them to obtain the like, they thereupon resolved upon a new and strange navigation."

And as the design was planned the preparation was careful. "I wot not whether I may more admire the care of the merchants or the diligence of the shipwrights—for the merchants, they get very strong and well-seasoned planks for the building; the shipwrights, they caulk them, pitch them, and make most staunch and firm, by an excellent invention. For they had heard that in the ocean a kind of worm is bred which many times pierceth and eateth through the strongest oak that is; therefore that the mariners might be free and safe from this danger, they cover a piece of the keel of the ship with thin sheets of lead; and having thus built the ships, and furnished them with armour and artillery, there followed a care no less troublesome—to wit, the provision of victuals."

Further, as the venture was of the most distant and daring kind, "our men being to pass that huge and cold part of the world," they victualled the ships for eighteen months, and took pains to "search out, before starting, what might be known concerning the easterly part of the world." "For which cause two Tartarians (Tartars), which were then of the king's stable,

were sent for, and by an interpreter demanded touching their country and the manners of it. But they were able to answer nothing to the purpose, being indeed, more acquainted—as

SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY.

one there merrily and openly said—*to toss pots* than to learn the states and dispositions of the people."

On the 20th May it was settled that they should "depart from Ratcliffe [near our London Docks] upon the ebb if it

The Start.

so pleased God." And "they having saluted—one his wife, another his children, another his kinsfolk, another his friends dearer than his kinsfolk—were ready at the day appointed, and having weighed anchor, they departed with the turning of the water, and sailing easily came first to Greenwich. The greater ships were towed down with boats and oars, and the mariners being all apparelled in watchet or sky-coloured cloth, rowed amain and made way with diligence. And being come near to Greenwich, where the Court then lay, presently upon the news thereof the courtiers came running out and the common people flocked together, standing very thick upon the shore; the Privy Council, they looked out at the windows of the Court, and the rest ran by to the tops of the towers; the ships hereupon discharge their ordnance and shoot off their pieces after the manner of war and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hills sounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gave an echo; and the mariners, they shouted in such sort that the sky rang again with the noise thereof. One stands in the poop of the ship and by his gesture bids farewell to his friends in the best manner he could. Another walks upon the hatches, another climbs the shrouds, another stands upon the mainyard, and another in the top of the ship. It was a very triumph to the beholders."

So the three ships,[1] going down with the tide, passed Woolwich and Harwich, "and at the last, with a good wind, they hoisted up sail and committed themselves to the sea, giving their last adieu to their native country. Many of them looked ofttimes back and could not refrain from tears."

Willoughby's Fate.

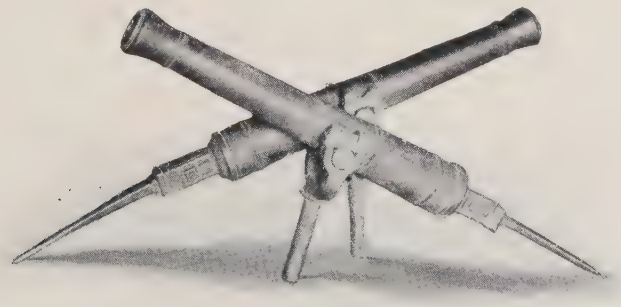
After many days' sailing they sighted land far off—and so came first to Rose Island and then to a group they called the Cross of Islands, not far from the Fiords of Norway. "But the very same day in the afternoon, about 4 of the clock, so great a tempest arose and the seas were so outrageous," that the ships could not keep their intended course. And now "Master Hugh Willoughby, in his loudest

[1] The flagship *Bona Esperanza*, "Good Hope," under Willoughby; Chanceler's *Edward Bonaventure*, the largest ship of the fleet, of 160 tons, with fifty souls (against Willoughby's thirty-five); and the *Bona Confidentia*, with twenty-two men; all victualled for eighteen months, with eighteen merchants on board.

SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY'S CANVAS COAT.
(*Wollaton Hall.*)

voice, cried out to Richard Chanceler and begged him not to go far off; but he (Chanceler) neither would nor could keep company with him if he sailed still so fast—for the flagship was of better sail than his. But the said flagship, bearing all his sails, was carried away with so great force and swiftness, that not long after he was quite out of sight and the third ship also"—never to be seen again till the crews were found, frozen to death, by the Russians of Perm.[1]

[1] The fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby, one of our first martyrs of discovery, has an interest, if not in the history of successful, yet of gallantly unfortunate adventure and exploration. After he was separated from Chanceler,



TWO CANNON FROM WILLOUGHBY'S SHIP. (*Wollaton Hall.*)
(*By permission of the Right. Hon. Lord Middleton.*)

Chanceler's Voyage.

"Now Richard Chanceler, thus left alone, very pensive, heavy, and sorrowful by this dispersion of the fleet, shapeth his course for Wardhouse [Vardö] in Norway, there to abide the arrival of the rest. And, looking in vain for their coming, he determined at length to proceed alone, and, as he was preparing himself for that part, he fell in company and speech with certain Scottish men, who, wishing well to his actions, began earnestly to dissuade him from the further prosecution of the Discovery by amplifying the dangers which he was to fall into. But he, holding nothing so reproachful as inconstancy and levity of mind, was nothing at all changed with the speeches and words of the Scots—determining to bring that to pass which was intended or else to die the death." His crew were "of such content and agreement of mind with him, that they were prepared to make proofs and trial of all adventures"; and their captain, "swallowed up with like goodwill towards them, only feared lest, through any error of his, the safety of the company should be in danger."

So, "when they saw the hope of the arrival of the rest every day more and more frustrated, they provided to sea again, and Master Chanceler held on his course toward that

he drove about in the Arctic Seas from July 30th to September 18th, 1553, trying to make Vardö harbour, but trying in vain.

On September 18th he entered the mouth of the River Arzina, near Kola, in Lapland, and Willoughby's journal, preserved by Hakluyt, tells us he "remained there the space of a seven-night. Seeing the year far spent, and also very evil weather, as frost, snow, and hail, we thought it best to winter there.

"Wherefore, we sent out three men S.S.W. to search if they could find people, who went three days' journey, but could find none. After that we sent other three Westward four days' journey, which also returned without seeing any people.

"Then sent we three men S.E. three days' journey, who in like sort returned without finding of people or any similitude of habitation."

Some of the party were alive as late as January 1554, in this Harbour of Death—for Gabriel Willoughby drew up and signed his will in that month.

In 1557 Stephen Burrough went in search of them, and heard certain news of the loss of the *Bona Confidentia*, but of Willoughby's flagship, the *Bona Esperanza*, nothing more was known, till Anthony Jenkinson, early in 1558, claimed to have got equally certain news of Sir Hugh having perished with all his company. But, long before this, according to Purchas, the *Bona Esperanza* was found in the spring of 1554, by some Russians, "but of the crew, no one alive."

unknown part of the world, and sailed so far that he came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the sun, shining clearly upon the huge and mighty sea. And having the benefit of this perpetual light for certain days, at length it pleased God to bring them into a certain great bay, which was of 100 miles or thereabouts over. Whereinto they entered, and somewhat far within it cast anchor, and, looking every way about them, espied a certain fisher boat." Chanceler hailed the crew and made up to them; "but they, being amazed at the strange greatness of his ship—for they had never seen the like before—began presently to avoid and flee." The English captain overtaking them, "they threw themselves before him, in great fear as men half dead, offering to kiss his feet; but he, according to his great and singular courtesy, looked pleasantly upon them, comforting them by signs and gestures, refusing those duties and reverencies of theirs and taking them up in all loving sort from the ground. And they spread, by-and-by, a report of the coming of a strange nation of a singular gentleness and courtesy, whereupon the people came together, offering victuals freely to those new-come guests and not refusing to traffic with them"—only awaiting their king's permission. Russia Rediscovered.

"Now, by this time our men had learned that this country was called Russia or Muscovy"—under a King John IV., better known as the Czar Ivan the Terrible. They were lying, of course, in the White Sea, off the province of Perm, near the site of the Archangel that was to be; and news was soon carried to Moscow of the Englishmen "sent into those coasts from the Most Excellent King Edward VI."

Ivan at once welcomed them to his Court, offered post-horses for the long overland journey, "and if by reason of its tediousness they thought it not best so to do, he granted liberty to bargain and to traffic" where they lay. But this gracious answer took some time in coming; the "Governors of the place" would not commit themselves without formal leave, and Chanceler, "held in this suspense with long and vain expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him they posted the matter off so often," determined to follow up his daring voyage with as daring a ride across Journey to Moscow.

the Continent. Threatening the Muscovites to depart and go on his way, he "brought them to furnish him with all things necessary, and to conduct him by land to the presence of their King." And so "Master Chanceler set out, with the use of certain sledges which in that country are very common—the people almost not knowing any other manner of carriage—because of the exceeding hardness of the ground. And having passed the greater part of their journey, they met the sledgeman" coming from the Czar, "who by some mishap had lost his way and gone to the seaside near the country of the Tartars, thinking there to have found our ship." He gave Chanceler the Emperor's letter, "written in all courtesy and in the most loving manner that could be, wherein express commandment was given that post-horses should be gotten for him and the rest of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the Russians in the rest of the journey so willingly done, that they began to quarrel, yea and to fight also, in striving and contending which of them should put their post-horses to the sled"—so that after nearly 1,500 miles of this new kind of travelling, "Master Chanceler came at last to Moscow, the chief city."

THE CZAR IVAN THE TERRIBLE.
(*By permission, from E. Delmar Morgan's "Early Travellers in Russia": Hakluyt Society.*)

So ends the story of the rediscovery of Russia—in a sense, the most important of all English voyages. For if Drake, Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Cook have made discoveries more famous than this of Richard Chanceler's,

the first step in a movement must always have a place of its own; and in this venture we have the start of Greater England—not by a lucky chance, but by a deliberate plan of restoring some vigour to English commerce, and by a daring in action which deserved more than its first, its obvious success, as the results were far wider than a mere opening of trade with the then half-barbarous Russians.

On reaching Moscow Chanceler set to work to observe and describe. In his long journey "thro' Russia the White" he had noted its "many and great rivers, of which the chief is that they call in their own tongue Volga, and after this the Don and the Dnieper," "with the great lakes and pools of Muscovy, and the marsh ground in many places." "Touching the Riphaean Mountains," however, "where the snow lieth continually, and the rest of the wonders which the Grecians feigned and invented of old, our men neither saw them, nor brought home any perfect relation of them." On the contrary, "the whole country is plain and champaign, and few hills in it: and towards the north very large and spacious woods, with great store of fir-trees." It was summer —June to September—when Chanceler spent his three months in Muscovy; so it was only from report he could tell of the "North parts of the country, so cold that the very water that distilleth out of the moist wood they lay upon the fire is presently congealed and frozen, so that in one and the self-same firebrand a man shall see both fire and ice." Yet even in these summer months, "the mariners we left in the ship, in their going up only from their cabins to the hatches, had their breath oft-times so suddenly taken away that they eftsoons fell down as men very near dead."

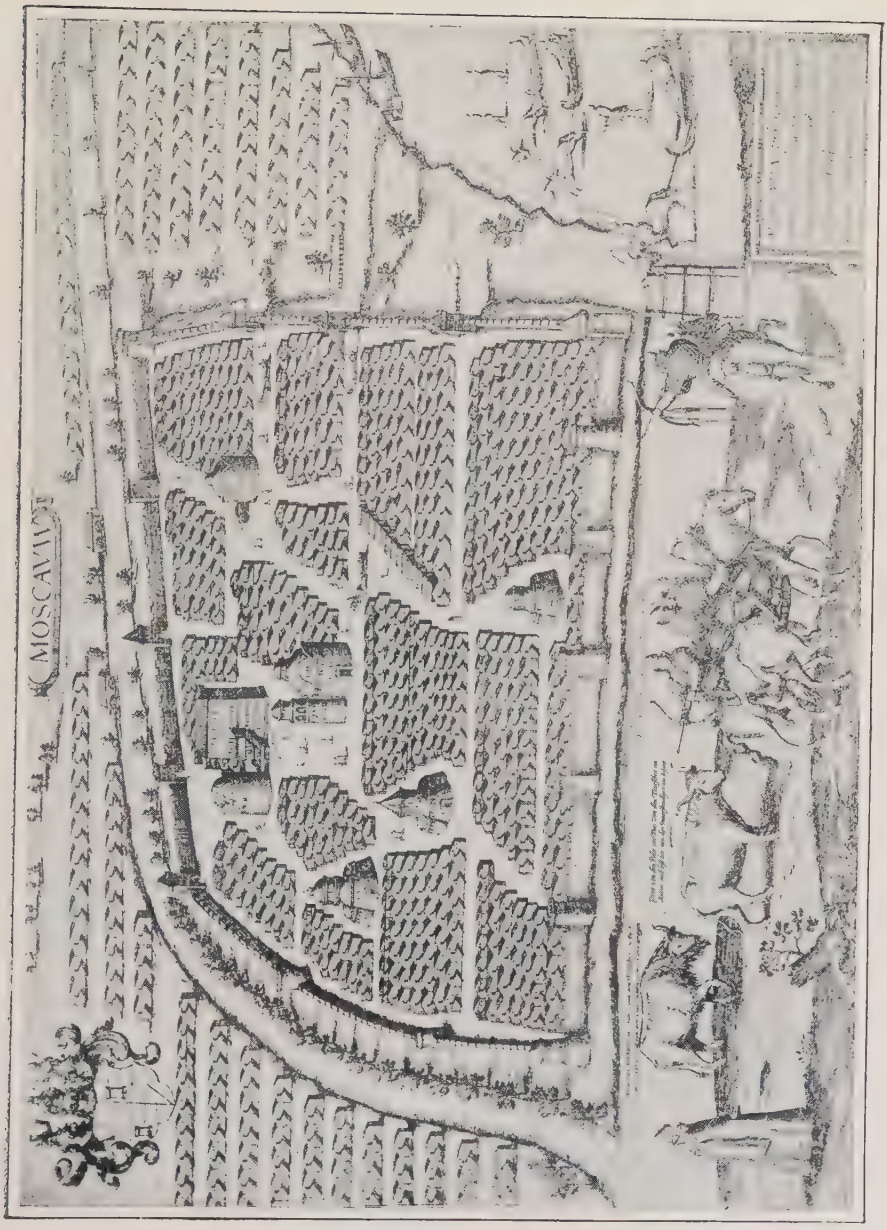
The "large discourse that remaineth" in the Original Journals, of Moscow, of the Prince and his Court, and the manners of the people, is too "large" for the purpose of this summary. But some instances of increased knowledge and enlarged interest in the outer world, thus thrown open, cannot be quite left out. "Our men say that Moscow in bigness is as great as the City of London." There are, it is admitted rather grudgingly, "many and great buildings in it; but for beauty and fairness, nothing like ours." In the same way,

the "many towns and villages" of Russia are "built all out of order and with no handsomeness."

Moscow.

The first English description of the Kremlin is interesting in the history of rediscovery. "There is, hard by the City of Moscow, a very fair castle, strong and furnished with artillery, whereunto the city is joined directly towards the north with a brick wall. The walls of the castle are eighteen feet thick; it hath on one side a dry ditch, on the other the River Volga; and in it are nine chapels, not altogether unhandsome, used and kept by certain religious men, over whom is, after a sort, a patriarch, or governor, and other reverend fathers. The king's court is not of the neatest, for it is of low building, much surpassed and excelled by the houses of the kings of England. The windows, very narrowly built, some of them by glass, some other by lattices admit the light; whereas the palaces of our princes are decked with hangings of cloth of gold, there is none such there." Also the Russians "build and join benches to all their walls"—a great eyesore to the Englishmen.

However, the Czar received Chanceler splendidly enough, the latter being not at all "dashed out of countenance"—and the rest of Hakluyt's account is mostly taken up with the ceremonies, manners, and religion of Ivan's court and kingdom. It was nearly one hundred years since Ivan III., in 1462, had freed a part of Russia from the Tartar slavery and begun the new Eastern Empire, nine years after the old Byzantine tradition, by the storm of Constantinople in 1453, had fallen into the hands of the Turks. Of that older Roman or Greek Empire the new Muscovite dominion claimed to be the successor, and by 1500, after a desperate fight of forty years, its founder could make that claim with some show of power. Now, in 1553, when his grandson was "in his 20th year of reign and his 23rd of life," Russia was civilised enough to feel the meaning, or something of the meaning, of the Christianity and the society that Western Europe represented—that West whose pioneers had just found their way to Moscow. Ivan, who was deep in reforming the law of Church and State, in spreading Christian manners and morals among the people with the help of the priest Sylvester, welcomed the new opening of Western trade and



MOSCOW. (*Braun und Hohenberg, "Civitates Orbis Terrarum,"* 1573.)

influence to his merchants and his people. It was the all-important time for Russia, as it was for England. For the future of both countries very much depended on the use they would make of their meeting and its results—not merely the direct results of any traffic that might spring up between Moscow and London, but still more the indirect, wider, deeper results of the first quickening of national enterprise on both sides—the first movement of national expansion.

Opening of Trade with Russia.

Ivan, as much as the English merchants, thought the "search of new trades and countries was a course and means to obtain greatness." So now Chanceler returned to England with letters from the Czar to Edward VI., offering entertainment to Willoughby "when he shall arrive," and declaring that Russia was "willing that you send unto us ships and vessels. And if you send one of your Majesty's Council to treat with us, whereby your merchants may with all kinds of wares, and where they will, make their market, they shall have their free mart with all liberties through my whole dominions, to come and go at their pleasure."

And this was all in the teeth of fierce opposition from the Hanse merchants, especially in Novgorod, "the chiefest mart in all Muscovy," where they had had a "house of merchandise," but had lost their privileges "by reason that they used the like ill-dealing there that they did with us." They had slandered their English rivals vigorously enough, accusing them as pirates and rovers, and calling on the Czar to detain and imprison them. "But the Emperor, believing rather the King's letters that our men brought than the lying suggestions of the Flemings, used no ill treaty towards them."

Ivan's letters came, of course, to Queen Mary on Chanceler's return in '54, and to her the account was given "concerning the state of Muscovy," of its trade in hides and tallow, corn,[1] and wax, hemp and honey, sables and walrus ivory; of its trade-routes through Moscow, Novgorod, Vologda, and other marts; of the divisions of the kingdom, as far out on

[1] "Such store of corn that in conveying it towards Moscow, sometimes in a forenoon a man shall see 700 to 800 sleds laden with it." People came a thousand miles to Moscow to buy the corn.

the north and east as the "Muscovites that are idolaters, dwelling near to Tartaria"; and, at greatest length of all, of their religion. For "they hold opinion that we are but half Christians, and themselves only to be the true and perfect Church; these are the childish dotages of such ignorant barbarians."

The Czar's letter of invitation and the success of Chanceler's

BURROUGH'S CHART OF THE WHITE SEA (N.S. Roy. 18 D. iii.).

venture kept up the English interest in the new trade of this new world. Thus, in 1554, John Hasse wrote a tract "of the coins, weights, and measures used in Russia," and in the next year all was ready for a second voyage to the White Sea; for, as the Flemings had just bought back their trading rights at Novgorod, the western entrance to Muscovy (by the Baltic) was more than ever closed to English seamen.

Chanceler's Second Voyage.

The *Edward Bonaventure* sailed again under its old Grand Pilot, Richard Chanceler, on May 1, 1555, and on the 4th of October the trading party was in Moscow once more. While they stayed treating about the opening of a mart, a third expedition was preparing in the Thames, and in the year 1556 the first Ambassador from Russia was "honourably received into England," after a most stormy voyage. For the *Edward Bonaventure*, leaving the White Sea on July 20, 1556, and "traversing the seas four months," on November 10 "arrived within the Scottish coast in a bay called Pettisligo (Pitsligo) where, by outrageous tempest and extreme storms, the ship, beaten from her ground tackles," was driven upon the rocks on shore, where she broke and split in pieces: "in such sort that the grand pilot (Chanceler), using all care for the Ambassador and his train, and taking the ship's boat to attain the shore and so to save and preserve the company—the same boat by rigorous waves of the seas was by dark night overwhelmed and drowned."

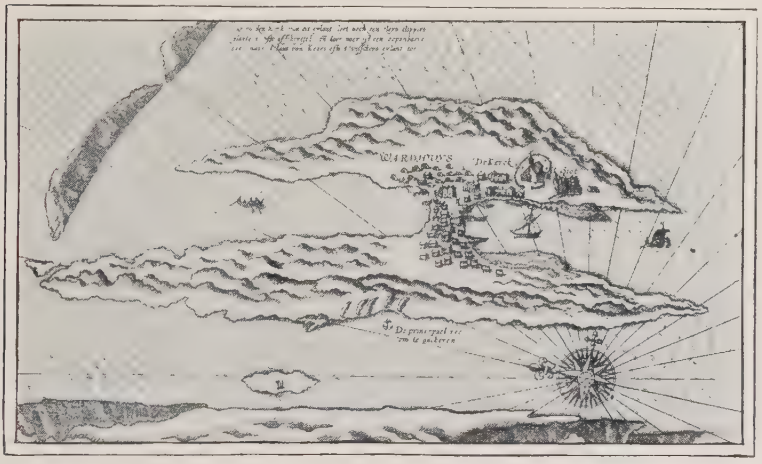
His Shipwreck.

Chanceler perished with the rest — seven Russians and the mariners of the ship—only the Ambassador was saved. With great difficulty he was got out of the hands of the Scottish wreckers and brought up to London, where the Queen received him on the last day of February, 1557. "He being accompanied by the merchants adventuring for Russia —140 persons—and conducted to London, where, by the way, he had the hunting of the fox and such like sport shown him, with knights, esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen up to 300 horses, was led to the north parts of the city, where, by four notable merchants, was presented to him a right fair and large gelding, richly trapped, with a foot cloth of Orient crimson velvet, enriched with gold laces, all furnished in most glorious fashion." So the Muscovite Embassy was brought in by Smithfield Bars, received at Court in Westminster, and sent back to Russia with "four goodly and well-trimmed ships" on May 12, 1557.

Other Voyages to Russia.

Other voyages in the same direction had been in progress in 1556—such as the "Navigation and discovery towards the River of Obi, made by Stephen Burrough, Master of the pinnace called the *Serchethrift*," who passed the North Cape (which he claims to have named), Lapland, Nova Zembla,

and the land of the "Samoids, very trustful and shrewd people," and only turned back within fifteen leagues of the River Petchora—and another voyage of the same Stephen Burrough, from Colmogro in Russia to Vardö in Norway (1557), to seek the ship that had been lost on the first venture of Chanceler and Willoughby (p. 315). Besides these, we have Instructions to the Masters and Mariners on board the fleet, "passing this year (1557) towards the Bay of St. Nicholas in Russia," a letter of the Company of Merchant Adventurers unto their agent (1557), "sent in



VARDÖ IN 1594.

(*Linschoten, "Voyagie ofte Schipvuert,"* 1601.)

the ship *John Evangelist,*" and three other letters from the Company in London to their agents in Russia, or from one agent to another.

The northern travels of Anthony Jenkinson, like the results of the return of the Russ Ambassador to Moscow, fall mainly within the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He journeyed to Muscovy from Gravesend in same fleet with Ivan's envoy —May 12–July 12, 1557—and on April 23, 1558, he was ready to set out from Moscow for the City of Bokhara or Boghar in Bactria. Two days before Christmas he reached it—when Queen Mary had been dead a month.

But in the very beginning of the reign—in 1553—the

Levant Voyages.

same Anthony Jenkinson had been exploring the Turkish Empire, revisiting the Bible lands that had been fading from the knowledge of our countrymen since the Crusades, and going farther afield, on this side, than any Englishman had gone before. On November 4 he had witnessed "the manner of the entering of Soliman the great Turk, with his army into Aleppo in Syria, marching into Persia against the Grand Sophie"; at the same time, he got his passport from the Padishah for all the ports, towns, and cities in his dominions.

Africa.

As to other parts of the globe, we have seen, in the reign of Edward VI., how English merchants and explorers began to visit the African coasts about 1550; their visits continued to be pretty frequent in the five years of the Catholic Reign. On August 12, 1553, sailed the "first fleet to Guinea and Benin"; on October 11, 1554, started a second expedition in the track of the first; in 1555-6, the famous Master William Towrson made his first two voyages to the Castle of La Mina, the great Portuguese fort on the Guinea coast—though the interest of all this is primarily in trade.

But of western discovery and voyages to America under Queen Mary—even voyages in search of a north-west passage—there is an almost total cessation. While on the north and east every possible effort was being made to open up a new field of enterprise, scarcely anything is recorded to have been done by Englishmen in the track marked out by John Cabot at the end of the preceding century (Vol. II., p. 674).

Thus it is only on one side, on the north-east, and by the enterprise of one man—Richard Chanceler—that any notable success is gained by our national discoverers under Mary. All other ventures are either successful as following in his steps, or disastrous as new attempts to get right on, round the north of Asia, to Cathay; or unimportant and uninteresting as futile efforts to break into the "closed sea" of Spanish Trade in west and south. The story of our exploration in these five years is the story of the voyage of one Grand Pilot.

It is not very easy to trace out the course of events whereby it came to pass that the bright promise foreshadowed by Erasmus (p. 115, *seq.*) altogether disappeared soon after the

accession of Edward. But it is clear that the work of spoliation, which the strong will of Henry had held in check, was openly sanctioned by the personal example of Somerset. His own palace in the Strand rose on the site of former Church property; St. Stephen's Chapel became the Parliament House, and the College of St. Martin-le-Grand was converted into a tavern. Ecclesiastical preferments, by an abuse which recalls the unscrupulousness of medieval despots, were frequently

J. BASS MULLINGER. The Educational Reaction.

BOYS WILL BE BOYS.

(*S. Bateman, "Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation,* 1569.)

bestowed on illiterate laymen; while the bishops themselves, in order to retain some portion of their endowments, were fain to surrender a large proportion of them to the despoiler. In cases where the monastic endowments partly consisted, as was frequently the case, of church livings, the new lay patrons often allowed the cure to go unbestowed, or appointed some altogether inefficient priest at a miserable stipend. "To consider," cried Latimer, "what hath been plucked from abbeys, colleges, and chantries, it is marvel no more to be bestowed on this holy office of salvation!"

In justice to the young king it must, however, be observed that, so far as his personal influence extended, he did his best to restrain this wholesale diversion of religious endowments to secular purposes, although with very imperfect success. Thomas Lever, the master of St. John's College, when preaching in 1580 at St. Paul's Cross, openly reproached the courtiers for the way in which they systematically frustrated the royal designs. "The king," he said, "is so disappointed that both the poor be spoiled, all maintenance of learning decayed, and you only enriched. For before that you did beginne to be the disposers of the king's liberality towards learning and poverty, there was in houses belonging unto the university of Cambridge two hundred students of divinity, many very well learned; which be now all clene gone, house and manne, young toward scholars, and old fatherly doctors, not one of them left." It was but a very imperfect compensation for this wholesale spoliation that both the universities were at this time exempted from the payment of tithes and first-fruits.

SEAL OF ILMINSTER SCHOOL.

King Edward VI.'s Grammar Schools.

In another direction the royal designs were more successful, partly, it would seem, owing to the co-operation afforded by the now fast-growing middle classes. Upwards of thirty grammar schools founded at this time have permanently associated the reign of Edward VI. with the cause of popular education. Some of these schools owed their origin to the royal initiative, but not a few to the petition of the burgesses of some town, or that of the residents in the neighbourhood of some suppressed monastery, who thought, not unreasonably, that the funds thus placed at the royal disposal might more appropriately be applied to the endowment of a school than to increase the wealth of some landed magnate. In the preamble to the letters patent for the foundation of the free grammar school in Louth, given in 1552, the royal sympathy with the movement is expressed in glowing terms. Edward declares that he has "always

coveted, with a most exceeding vehement and ardent desire, that good literature and discipline might be diffused and propagated through all parts of the kingdom, as *wherein the best government and administration of affairs consists.*" "The liberal instruction of youth" is described as "being, as it were, the foundation and growth of our Commonwealth." Among existing foundations, there were now established the Free Grammar Schools at St. Albans, Bath, Bedford, Birmingham, Bradford, Buckingham, Chelmsford, Chipping Norton, Christ's Hospital in London, Crediton, Bury St. Edmund's, Giggleswick, Grantham, Kingston-on-Thames, Bromsgrove, Lichfield, Ludlow, Pontefract, Sherborne, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Stourbridge, Tunbridge, and others. They are generally described as *free,* and designed mainly for the instruction of the scholars in the Latin language. It must, however, be noted that a large proportion were, in the first instance, very slenderly endowed, and could educate but a small number. That at Bath, for example, was limited to "ten poor boys" and "ten poor persons," thus partaking of the character of a "hospital." It would seem that they only very partially supplied the place of the schools which had been swept away along with the monasteries, for in the year 1562 we find Williams, the Speaker of the House of Commons, in an address to the

OLD SCHOOL BUILDINGS, SHREWSBURY.

Queen, referring to "the want of schools: that at least a hundred were wanting in England which before that time had been"—an allusion which we may safely assume, with Strype, had reference to the schools of the monasteries.

REGINALD HUGHES. Architecture and Art, 1509-1558.

"UNDER the Tudors," says Mr. Ferguson in an often-quoted passage, "the Gothic style went out in a blaze of glory." But it is not possible to point exactly to the moment either of final splendour or of final extinction, though both, in a sense, coincide with the completion of the Royal Chapels at Windsor and Westminster and Cambridge. The necessity of preserving something like continuity of story has obliged us already to treat of these buildings (Vol. II., p. 492), and of the vaulting, which is their distinguishing characteristic, as, in fact, the latest members of a series, which commences with the Cloister Vaults of Gloucester, finished as early as 1412, and the slightly later retro-choir in Peterborough. Nevertheless, the greater part of the actual work in the chapels was not carried out till the reign of Henry VIII. Thus Windsor, the earliest in foundation (1475), was not finished till 1521, and the fan vaults of the crossing were added later still. King's College Chapel at Cambridge was begun slightly later than Windsor, but more quickly completed, although the finishing touches were not given to it till 1532. Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster equally belongs to the two reigns, having been erected in the fourteen years which ended in 1515. Magdalen Tower at Oxford was, it is true, wholly built in Henry VII.'s reign, but the beautiful steeple of Louth, in Lincoln, and the central tower of Canterbury, were not finished till 1515 and 1517. The Savoy Chapel, too, was begun under Henry VII., though it was largely altered by Queen Elizabeth. Even in the last year of Henry VIII. some real Gothic work was done, and in places where the surroundings made for the survival of a good Gothic tradition, the deterioration of the style remained slight down to a still later period.

It has been said that Wolsey was "the last professor of Gothic," and if we take his work at Hampton Court and the noble hall at Christchurch, Oxford (the superb

staircase is a century later), we shall see the justification for the title. In his work the form is Gothic, however frequently we may come across Italian details. The *coup de grâce* was dealt, of course, by the Reformation, which put an end, for a time at least, to all need of church building. But for the Reformation, the Renaissance architecture might have had a more fortunate development; but, in truth, the spirit of Protestantism was not instinct with any poetry, and so far the New Religion was not unsuited to the new architecture.

It is difficult to assay, with anything like accuracy, the various ingredients that contribute to the healthy and natural development of a style; but certainly the Renaissance architecture, popular as it became, never seems to have taken any deep root in England. One looks in vain to find any great English ecclesiastical building in the sixteenth century which can properly be said to belong to it; and the style which grew out of it, that singular mixture of Gothic and Italian which goes by the name of Elizabethan, is only occasionally

Photo: A. James, Lout...

LOUTH CHURCH.

present in additions to churches. It is hardly too much to say that no church, with the slightest pretension to original artistic design, was erected between the Reformation and 1631.

It is far otherwise as regards lay buildings, though, of necessity, lay architecture was chiefly occupied with utilitarian progress. Spacious rooms, well-lighted galleries, comfortable chambers—in a word, good accommodation—was what was sought after, and in this good progress was made, if the higher qualities were somewhat neglected. We have seen how in the reign of Henry VII., and indeed earlier, the castle, as such, had practically disappeared. Wide windows were everywhere perforated through the side walls, the oriel had displaced the loophole, and nothing of the castle was retained except the ornamental features. The king's avarice, however, stood in the way of any great enterprise in lay architecture, and almost the only work of the character, undertaken by him, was the rebuilding of the palace at Sheen, necessitated by its total destruction by fire in 1500. It was in the so-called Burgundian style, borrowed, it is suggested, from the great palace at Dijon, built, or at least commenced, by Philip le Bon, the father of Charles le Téméraire. The connection by marriage between Edward IV. and the last-named prince, and the fame and splendour of his court, where noble strangers were always welcome, had, if not exactly promoted emulation between the magnates of England and Burgundy, at least familiarised Englishmen with a certain kind of palatial splendour. At the same time we may dismiss the idea of there having been much conscious imitation by the English architects.

The second Tudor king was of a temper very different from that of his father. A quaint writer of a little later date describes him as "the onlie Phœnix of his time for fine and curious masonrie." He built the palaces of Bridewell, St. James's, and Beaulieu, and made extensive and decorative additions to Windsor, Whitehall, and Hunsdon. The king's sumptuousness was imitated by the profusion of his courtiers. Wolsey, besides his palace at Hampton and his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, rebuilt more than one of the episcopal residences. The heads of the ducal houses of Norfolk and

THE GREAT HALL, HAMPTON COURT PALACE.

Buckingham were not far behind Wolsey in emulating their sovereign's splendour, and were not more fortunate in living to enjoy them. In earlier volumes of this work (I., p. 538; II., pp. 80, 166) descriptions have been given of the actual form and contents of a fortified manor-house of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In a curious treatise printed in 1547, entitled "A dyetorie or regiment of health," by Andrew Boorde, a physician (p. 229), we have a contemporary description of a typical sixteenth century mansion:

A Sixteenth Century House.

> "Make the hall of such fashion," he says, "that the parlour be annexed to the head of the hall; and the buttrye and pantrye at the lower ende thereof. The cellar under the pantrye sett somewhat at a base, the kechyn sett somewhat at base from the buttrye and pantrye, coming with an entrie within by the wall of the buttrye; the pastrie house and the larder annexed to the kechyn. Then divide the loggynges by the circuit of the quadrinal courte, and let the gate house be opposite or against the hall doore, not directly, but the hall doore standing abase of the gate house, in the middle of the front enteringe of the place. Let the prevye chamber be annexed to the great chamber of estate, with other chambers necessary for the buildinge, so that many of the chambers may have a prospecte into the chapell."

It is a little confused, but the picture is sufficient to show how complete was the departure from the ideas of the early builder. The change had in most material respects, as far as internal arrangements went, been more or less complete in the time of the later Plantagenets. But now, so to speak, the mask was thrown off. Almost alone of castellated features the flanking towers at the angles were retained; but they were retained for ornament merely, or for the utilitarian purpose of carrying staircases. These hexagonal towers, with the masses of lofty and richly ornamented chimneys on the roofs, give a highly characteristic and special character to the earlier Tudor domestic architecture.

Cinquecento Painted Glass.

In the work of the sixteenth century, the so-called Cinquecento, the idea of making painted glass a part of the decoration of a Gothic cathedral having a due relation to the scheme of the architect, may be said to have passed away. The stained glass window of this period is simply a picture painted on glass, and itself framed or mounted in glass; and except in a few trees of Jesse and like cases, the frame and the mount were kept

perfectly distinct. Amongst the works of this period—the first half of the sixteenth century—are no doubt the most elaborate glass pictures that have been produced. Only a small number of those that survive can, however, be attributed safely to English

FLEMISH WINDOWS, LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL.

artists, the greater part having, like the famous windows in the Choir of Lichfield, been imported from Flanders. Generally speaking, the colour of the glass work during the reigns of the first four Tudor princes is softer and more agreeable to the eye than that of the earlier period, though never equalling in depth that of the earliest mosaic.

Painting and Painters.

It is probable that a few Englishmen picked up some of the Flemings' skill, even in the reign of Henry VII. We know, at least, the name of one—John Crust, who early in Henry VIII.'s reign received various payments from the exchequer, and to whom a rather famous processional picture is attributed. This is the meeting of Henry and Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, which took place in May, 1520 (p. 5). It was painted soon after that event, and we may take it that it would not have been entrusted to an artist whose reputation was not fully established. From the English or foreign pupils of the Flemings came, no doubt, the portrait of Dean Colet ascribed to Jan Mabuse, and quite a number of portraits of the new magnates of the Tudor dynasty. If but little was done under Henry VII., the ground was broken, ready to receive the seed from the first sower. The tradition of an English royal patronage of art was established, and as we find it recorded that in the second year of Henry VIII., one John Browne was appointed sergeant painter, it is probable that the office was not newly created. At the death of Browne, Andrew Wright was appointed sergeant painter. Besides these official personages, Vincent Volpe received a salary from Henry VIII. of £20 a year as painter to the king. Lucas Horembout, or Hornebaud, of Ghent, seems to have been the first foreign artist who appeared at Henry VIII.'s court. His brother Gerard, and his sister Susanna, also settled in England. We should know comparatively little of these personages and of the other artists here mentioned, but for the jealous system which required foreigners to take out letters of denization to enable them to obtain the benefit of the English law. Most of them availed themselves of the privilege, and many obtained grants of arms; some left wills disposing of considerable property.

It is unfortunate that we cannot more accurately identify the works of the different individuals. This is markedly the case with regard to Lucas Horembout, who yet must have been a person of distinction, for he received an exceedingly high salary, higher indeed than that of any contemporary artist. The same is true of the works of Susanna, said to have been an accomplished miniaturist. As regards Gerard, who worked apparently for more than thirty years in England, he undoubtedly painted many of the inferior portraits to which the great name of

Holbein has been attached. The latest portraits of the king, executed after Holbein's death in 1543, are probably by this painter. They display inferior draughtsmanship, but great character. The Warwick Castle picture of Henry VIII. possesses, indeed, very high qualities, and what Dr. Waagen

Gerard Horembout.

HENRY VIII.

(From the portrait in the possession of the Right Hon. the Earl of Warwick.)

calls "brutal egotism, obstinacy, harshness, and the suspicious wakefulness of a wild beast," are finely brought out in the features of the old king. Besides these, Henry VIII. subsidised Toto della Nunziata, who was both painter and architect, and Bartolomew Penni, a Florentine. Alice Carmillion and Katharine Maynon, chiefly known as miniaturists, were also favoured by

Henry, and the staff was increased under Edward VI. by the addition of Levina Terling of Bruges. Gerbut Flick and Johannes Corvus are names found on a few pictures belonging to the reign. The list of artists who received English patronage under Henry VIII. is so long as to be tedious, but among those not to be omitted is the name of Girolamo da Trevigi, painter, son and pupil of Pier Maria Pennacchi, who is probably represented by the portrait of the founder of Gresham College, and that of Nicola da Modena, sculptor, possibly the author of a statuette of Henry VIII. of great delicacy, and of a medallion at Hampton Court, given without authority to Torregiano.

That great artist had, as we have mentioned, entered into a contract with Henry VII. for the erection of his tomb in Westminster Abbey. But the work of Master Peter Torrysany as the English records name him, both as we know it in the royal tomb or the tomb of the Lady Margaret, or the terra-cotta of Dr. Young in the Rolls Chapel, was thoroughly exotic. Probably this was true of the productions of Benedetto Rovezzani and of Bernardi of Amsterdam, who were employed under Henry VIII., though most of their English work has perished, or has ceased to be identifiable. But neither Florentine nor Dutchman seems to have been a vivifying influence in England. Yet all these names, whether of painter or sculptor, are overshadowed by the greater glory of Hans Holbein the younger, an artist whose executive talent has hardly been excelled in any age or country. He was born at Augsburg in 1495, settled in Basle in 1516, and came to England in 1526. He brought with him a letter of introduction from Erasmus to the Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, who took him into his house at Chelsea, and introduced him to the king and the court. This was in fulfilment of a promise made to Erasmus by a letter (of course in Latin) of the 18th December, 1525, in which he thus comments on some sample of the painter's work sent him by Erasmus: "Your painter, my dear Erasmus, is a marvellously clever workman, but I fear he may find England a less fertile soil than he had hoped. So far as I can, however, I will see that he does not find it altogether barren." More's diffidence was, however, little justified by the event. Holbein quickly became a favourite, and both before and after his patron's death his pencil was never idle. With the

Holbein.

exception of three visits to Basle in the years 1528–9, 1532, and 1538, possibly having some connection with the retention of his pension of fifty florins a year paid to him as painter to the town,

TERRACOTTA TOMB OF DR. YOUNG.

(By permission of the Master of the Rolls.)

the rest of the life of Holbein was spent in London. He had a house and fee in the "Parish of Saint Andrewe Undershafte," and there he died of the plague in 1543. Although he did not enter the king's service for some three years after his arrival in

England, More's introductions had, before that time, secured him a considerable *clientèle* among noble and distinguished persons, such as Archbishop Warham, Sir Henry Guildford, Sir Bryan Tuke, and Thomas Linacre. At the same time he painted the chancellor and Margaret Roper, whose likenesses were despatched as a present to Erasmus, possibly by the hand of the

Photo: Wm. Spooner & Co., Strand, W.C.

RESKEMEER, BY HOLBEIN.

(*Hampton Court Palace.*)

painter himself. His industry was indeed astonishing, and as his superiority to all his northern contemporaries became rapidly known, opportunities for its exercise were never wanting. It has been said that no eminent man or woman of the period in England escaped his pencil. But though this is true, Holbein found time to paint an astonishing series of portraits of obscurities, including among these such works as the portrait of "Reskemeer of Cornwall," and that most faultless work, the

portrait of Morett, Henry VIII.'s jeweller, now at Dresden. As court painter to Henry he was commissioned to paint the likeness of Anne of Cleves, and, for this once, he is alleged to have departed from his uncompromising truthfulness. According to the popular story, the king found the original so much worse than the picture, that he made the marriage scheme (it must be

Photo : Wm. Spooner & Co., Strand, W.C.

HOLBEIN, BY HIMSELF.

(*Hampton Court Palace.*)

allowed that he had long been spoiling for the quarrel) a pretext for breaking with the able but unpopular minister who had advised it (p. 52). Holbein's portrait of another lady wooed but not won, the Duke of Norfolk's Duchess of Milan, shows a similar disposition to abate some of his rough honesty of statement. The series of Windsor drawings, mostly in red and coloured chalk, belonging to the English Crown, shows Holbein in his most attractive mood as a

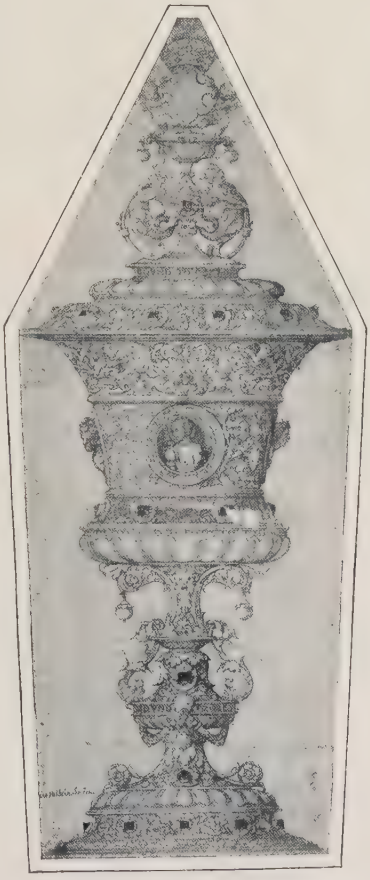
portrait painter, and gives a higher idea of the talent of the man than his most finished works in oil. He was, however, far from being a portrait painter only. Not only is the fact contradicted by the existence of the famous Darmstadt masterpiece, the "Meyer" Holy Family, but by the fine group of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, which is not unworthy to rank with the Regent and Doelen pieces of Holland. Holbein is the highest representative of the simple exact imitative school of portraiture, in which the resemblance of feature, not of character, is sought first and last. Great as Holbein was, it is probable that Henry endeavoured to entice to his court still greater men, and was anxious to secure the services of Rafaelle and Titian. There is some evidence that Rafaelle executed at least one work for the English king — the St. George now hung in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

ANNE OF CLEVES, BY HOLBEIN.
(*Windsor Castle.*)

Art under Edward VI. and Mary.

What Holbein certainly was to the reign of Henry, Guillim Stretes probably was to that of his son. He painted numerous pictures of the young king and of various notables living during his short reign, and in the last years of that of his father. In manner (if identification is possible) he is like a weak Holbein, and without the rough vigour that is to be found in some of the portraits attributed to Gerard and Lucas Horembout. A better artist was Joost van Cleef, but it is not clear when he arrived in England. As a draughtsman he was almost the equal of Holbein, and possessed more breadth of touch. Queen Mary's reign is

interesting in the history of art for the arrival on the scene of a painter variously called Antonis Mor, Antonio Moro, and Sir Antonio More. Born in Utrecht, he had studied long in Italy, and was perhaps the most talented of all the Italianising Flemings of the century. He is supposed, though without much evidence, to have endeavoured to model himself on Holbein. He was the first fashionable painter who early commanded large prices for his work. He probably came to England charged with the task of painting Queen Mary for Philip, and this task he at any rate executed so satisfactorily that his patrons "gave him one hundred pounds, a gold chain, and a pension of four hundred pounds a year as painter to their majesties." His works are dignified, courtly, generally sombre in colour, and rather lacking in animation. A very beautiful example is a portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham in the National Portrait Gallery. This must have been one of the last works he executed in England, for on Queen Mary's death he quitted England, and having given offence at the Court of Madrid, he retired to Flanders, where he found a munificent patron in the Duke of Alva. When and where he was knighted is unknown.



HOLBEIN'S DESIGN FOR A CUP.

(*By permission, from the University Galleries, Oxford.*)

The survivors of the artists who flourished under Henry VIII. of course continued their work under his son and elder daughter, and as they dropped off were replaced by younger men. Various Williams and Hanses and Johns are thus met with,

most of them apparently of foreign origin, though Nicholas Sergeant, painter to Queen Mary, may possibly have been an Englishman.

GEORGE NOBLE OF 1526.

The second Tudor king added a double sovereign to the gold coinage, a half-sovereign, a George noble, with a St. George on horseback attacking the dragon, and a crown and half-crown. These last derived their names from the crowns with which they were figured, and from the absence of the head which usually wore it. Similar coins in silver were also issued by Edward, which, however, bear his effigy.

As the second Tudor prince added a double sovereign to the coinage, so the third added a treble sovereign, and also a sixpence and a threepence. The older coins were

DOUBLE SOVEREIGN OF 1509.

also issued, though the noble seems to have been falling into disuse. Under his sister and successor there were no novelties, unless certain two-penny pieces may be so

regarded. Queen Mary's most remarkable coins are those issued after her marriage with Philip, with profile busts of the king and queen face to face, which excited some amusement, and the peculiar appearance of which is hit off in the description of the pair of lovers in Butler's "Hudibras":—

HALF-SOVEREIGN OF 1544.

"Still amorous and fond and billing,
Like Philip and Mary on a shilling."

GOLD HALF-CROWN.

Unfortunately, the artistic history of the coinage during the Tudor period is of less importance than that discreditable story of the successive debasements of its value which so greatly intensified the natural disturbances of the economic situation caused by the influx of precious metals from the New World and by the political changes of the period (pp. 166, 349). It may be said, however, that slight attempts at reform were made both at the beginning and at the end of the reign of Edward VI.

PHILIP AND MARY SHILLING.

W. J. CORBETT. The Rural Unrest.

THE reign of Henry VIII. has been characterised as forming the climax in the development of the movement for converting arable to pasture, which we have been following so long; and probably at no time during the 150 years in which the change was being effected was the mania for sheep quite so great as just after the dissolution of the monasteries and in the years preceding the king's death. It cannot, however, be said that in the reigns of his children the movement at first showed much sign of abating. On the contrary, all through the lives of Edward and Mary, and well on into the reign of Elizabeth, we find the outcry against enclosing as bitter as ever; and in fact it was hardly till the opening of the seventeenth century that the over-production of sheep and wool began to have its natural effect, and once more made their value sink to little, if anything, above that of the wheat which had so long been inferior to them as a commercial investment.

The Unemployed.

In the opening years of Edward's reign, therefore, there was plenty of work for the Government to do in trying to appease the rural discontent; for the unemployed, who were now without any monastic charities to aid them, were daily becoming more wretched and more dependent on begging for a livelihood. Nor did they suffer in silence, for many of them took to rioting and breaking down parks and fences, while others tramped up to London to see whether any justice was to be obtained. None, of course, was to be had, and so finally revolts were attempted. In the West the pretext was more the religious grievances, but in the East, in Norfolk, the outbreak under Kett was all through ostensibly conducted, not so much against the Government, as against the landlords, and the chief demands that the people put forward were connected with the use the gentlemen made of their estates. Thus, for example, it was proposed that for the future the gentlemen should have no rights at all in the commons, and should be restricted in the amount of the fine they should be entitled to take when renewing their grants to their tenants; for it was only by demanding excessive fines that they had in many instances been enabled to get the land out of the hands of their reluctant tenants. Similarly

the rebels demanded that all bondmen should be emancipated, and one of the great features of the rebellion was the capturing of all the gentlemen that could be laid hold of, and their trial and sentence at the so-called Oak of Reformation for the wrongs they had done to their villagers. This was the greatest effort to protest against enclosing that the people ever made, but, like the royal legislation, it came to nothing; for the Government, though sympathising, were bound to put it down, the landowners, when the matter came

KETT'S OAK OF REFORMATION, WYMONDHAM.

to blows, having the law entirely on their side. Somerset did what he could by pardoning many of the ringleaders, and at a later time the Government itself passed another Act for enforcing the pulling down of enclosures; but the larger fines it imposed (five shillings an acre per annum for non-compliance) hardly acted as a greater deterrent than its predecessors.

The State of Agriculture.

Outside the history of the enclosing at this time there is very little that calls for attention. The cultivation of hemp and flax, and the development of the hop industry which was just beginning, may be noticed; but in most districts which were untouched by sheep-farming, no changes

at all seem to have been introduced, and they remained exactly as they were, with their system of cultivation in large open fields, for almost another two centuries, when a new wave of enclosing finally swept the old method entirely away.

J. E. SYMES. The Economic Crisis

In the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary the condition of the English people was wretched in the extreme. The causes of this great misery have been partly indicated in previous sections. The Reformation movement, and the subsequent reaction from it, had produced much disorder, with rioting and rebellion almost amounting to civil war. The dissolution of the monasteries is said to have involved a transfer of one-third of the national wealth. Such a transfer could scarcely fail to be at least temporarily disastrous. It involved extensive changes in the character of the demand for labour, and thus reduced to the ranks of the unskilled those whose skill was no longer in demand, even if it did not compel them to swell the numbers of the unemployed. Many of those unemployed naturally became vagrants; and the transition of a large proportion of these to the criminal class was so natural as to be almost inevitable. The Agrarian Revolution, and the extensive enclosure of the common lands, which were contemporaneous with the religious changes, greatly aggravated these evils. Only a few shepherds were now needed on land which had formerly employed many agriculturists, and the loss of common rights removed what would have been a check on vagrancy, by destroying one of the forces that tended to keep men in their own localities.

The Spendthrift Government.

The incompetency and extravagance of the Government aggravated the national misery. The expenses of Henry's Court were four times as great in the last six months of his reign as they had been at the beginning. This was no doubt largely due to the rise in prices; but we shall see that this rise was caused, in no small measure, by the policy of the Government. The royal debt was also a heavy burden, the rate of interest charged by the Flemish Jews being seldom less than twelve per cent. The death of Henry only increased the number of those whose extravagance had to be paid for by the nation. The leading members of Edward VI.'s Council, though differing on

many points, agreed in regarding their trust as an opportunity for enriching themselves. Their conduct was even more inexcusable than that of Henry himself, for they could see, on every side, the terrible results of the rapacity and extravagance of the late king's Government.

The Debasement of the Currency.

The chief cause, however, of the depression of trade and industry during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary was probably the continued debasement of the currency (pp. 171, 345). Henry VIII. no doubt issued more base money than his successors, but Henry's debasements were mostly in the latter years of his reign, and did not produce their full consequences till it was almost ended. Edward's Council was equally greedy and unscrupulous. Its members talked of reforming the currency, but their acts belied their words. They issued even baser coins than those of the previous reign.

In Weight.

Edward's coins were debased in two ways: namely, in quantity and in quality. Henry had issued silver pennies weighing only ten grains (troy). Edward's advisers reduced their pennies by two grains more. This debasement was, no doubt, only in accordance with earlier precedents. The pennies of 1346 weighed twenty grains; those of 1351 and 1464 weighed eighteen and twelve grains respectively. But these earlier debasements took place in ages when there was a general downward tendency of prices. They exercised a steadying effect, and were even, in some respects, beneficial, tending to mitigate the hardships produced by falling prices. On the other hand, the Tudor debasements came in a period of rising prices, and they aggravated all the evils of such a period.

In Purity.

But the diminished weight of the Tudor coins was a less serious matter than their diminished purity. At the accession of Henry VIII. the alloy amounted to only three-fortieths of the silver. Henry had gradually increased the proportion of alloy till it amounted in some cases to two-thirds of the coin. Under Edward VI. (1551) coins were issued of which three-fourths consisted of alloy.

The Effect.

These successive debasements naturally threw prices and wages into confusion. It was not only that the purchasing power of the coins was diminished. No one knew how far the rapacious dishonesty of the Council might carry them, or what the intrinsic value of the next coins would be. The better

coins were, to a great extent, driven out of circulation. They were melted down, or exported, or hoarded, and there was the widest diversity in the weight and quality of those actually in circulation.

GROAT STRUCK AT BRISTOL, 1545

The evil was further aggravated by the temptations which a debased currency offered to false coiners. A large profit could now be made by issuing coins which, both in weight and purity, came up to the Government standard. There were naturally plenty of persons ready to take advantage of this opportunity. The Controller of the Mint at Bristol set the example, buying up church plate, melting it down, and throwing the metal contained in it upon the country in the shape of bad shillings. Others followed the example; and soon mints were set up in France, Flanders, and other parts of Europe to supply the English market with base coins. These, of course, helped to push prices still higher, and to swell the general misery.

The Government had temporarily gained by issuing debased coins. But, in the long run, its financial difficulties were considerably aggravated by the fact that it now had to pay more highly for everything that it needed. It had rewarded the services of its adherents by allowing them to reap the profits of successive coinages. In this way alone £150,000 worth of base silver money was brought into circulation (1549). It seemed a cheap way of discharging obligations, but the consequent rise and

SHILLING STRUCK AT BRISTOL, 1549.

disorganisation of prices struck a heavy blow at the growth of English manufactures, and added greatly to the number of the unemployed. Edward's Government was driven almost to despair by the necessity of paying, in sterling silver, fourteen or fifteen per cent. interest on its debts to foreign creditors, with an additional twelve per cent. on the exchange, and it can scarcely have failed to see the connection between its own currency policy and its financial embarrassments. By constant robbery, especially of the property of churches and guilds, it managed to pay its way; but by the close of the reign there was little more to be obtained by such means, even if the next sovereign had been willing to profit by plundering ecclesiastical bodies.

Trade and Industry under Mary.

The reign of Mary (1553–1558) contains little of importance in industrial history. It gives us five years of continued national misery, though it is difficult to say whether the misery was increasing Mary's crimes were in the regions of foreign and ecclesiastical policy. In industrial matters, the worst charge that can be brought against her is that of impotence and inaction in a grave political crisis. She committed no such acts of spoliation and shortsighted greed as her immediate predecessors, and the currency in particular she left almost as she found it. But, on the other hand, Mary made no serious or sustained effort to relieve the ills from which the country was suffering. Like most other sovereigns, she began her reign with good intentions. The expenses of the household were to be reduced. The corruption of officials was to be suppressed. Order, economy, and justice were to be introduced into the Administration. The task, however, was one which would have required the undivided energies of an able statesman, and was altogether beyond the powers of a woman whose chief anxiety was for the supremacy of her own theological and ecclesiastical views. To her passion for orthodoxy Mary soon added a passion for Philip of Spain which involved her in uncongenial lavishness and ultimately in a war with France. The naval and military forces had been allowed in the previous reign to fall into a state of inefficiency, from which Mary had done little to raise them. The war was at once unsuccessful and expensive. The Queen's financial advisers invented a new device for obtaining money, which was destined to have an important influence on our later history. At their instigation, Mary levied, without the consent of Parliament, a

A New Expedient.

duty upon cloths exported beyond the seas (1557), and afterwards an import duty on French wines. Our trade was so depressed that these duties did not add much to the burdens of the nation; but the fact that the Queen's promises of economy ended in the imposing of fresh and hardly constitutional taxes may illustrate her incompetency for the task laid upon her. The circumstances demanded peace, retrenchment, and reform. In lieu of these she gave England religious persecution, foreign war, and industrial inaction. The currency continued unreformed; the treasury remained empty; trade, agriculture, and manufactures languished; and the problems of pauperism, vagrancy, and the unemployed became increasingly urgent. It will, therefore, be convenient at this point to sketch the growth of the Tudor system of dealing with these difficulties.

W. A. S. HEWINS. The Problem of Pauperism.

Successive changes in industry and commerce have swept away almost all traces of the economic system of which the old poor law formed a part. That law is still, in many of its features, the basis of the modern system of poor relief. But the forces which shaped it have ceased to operate, and the point of view of the men who framed it is strange to people living in the present century. In this and a subsequent chapter we shall trace the movement which culminated in the famous poor law of Elizabeth and the broad outlines of the system then established. We shall see what were the so-called rights of the poor which that law secured, and how it was administered during an important period of English economic history.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century the relief of the poor was not recognised as a civil duty or as the business of government. If the statutes of the realm and the by-laws of municipalities had secured the object with which they were framed, every man able and willing to work would have had his place in society, though that place might not have been one he would have chosen if left to himself, nor the wages equal to his own estimate of his deserts. The "problem of poverty," therefore, was then essentially different from that of modern times. The statesmen of that time had not to deal with a class of poor whose ranks were constantly recruited by those who had fallen or who were too weak to rise in the struggle for existence.

Theoretically there was no place for such failures in the social system, and if we may judge from the early statutes relating to vagabonds and the poor, there was not much belief in the existence of able-bodied men and women who were willing to work but forced to beg. It was generally recognised, however, that there were two large classes who might be the recipients of charity. War, shipwreck, disease, and similar causes produced a large crop of impotent poor, who in no circumstances could be expected to work. There were besides, the sturdy beggars, the vagabonds, the idle rogues of society. For the first class

LAZAR HOUSE OF ST. PETRONILLA, BURY.

(*From a view taken in* 1780; *MS. Add.* 8986.)

sixteenth century opinion suggested Christian charity; for the second, repression.

The outlines of a system of poor relief had been sketched in the reign of Richard II. in a series of statutes[1] dealing with vagabonds, the impotent poor, and other subjects. We have there the elements of local responsibility and settlement, some attempt at maintenance, and punishment of able-bodied beggars —elements very conspicuous in the later statutes. At the end of the fifteenth century the severe treatment which the vagabonds received was not found to lead to satisfactory results. Henry VII.'s

[1] 12 Richard II., cc. 3, 7, 8, 9; 15 Richard II., c. 6, etc.

first Vagrant Act[1] complained of the "extreme rigour" of the earlier statutes, and the "great charges" of the "long-abiding" of the vagabonds in the gaols, "whereby by likelehede many of theym should lose their lives." So, combining the principles of economy and humanity, the penalty for begging was reduced to three days and three nights in the stocks for the first offence, and six days and six nights for the second. Eight years later[2] still milder provisions were substituted—one day and one night in the stocks for the first offence, and three days and three nights for the second, with a bread-and-water diet during the time of confinement. Clerks of the universities, soldiers, shipmen, and travelling men were to be punished in the same way unless they carried proper certificates. The impotent poor were to go to the place of their birth, or where they had last resided for three years, upon pain of being punished as vagabonds.

The Poor-Laws of Henry VIII.

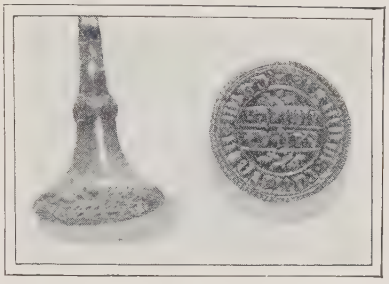
Such was the state of the law at the accession of Henry VIII. During the first twenty-two years of his reign the Government contented itself with suppressing mummers and gipsies, and aiming indirectly at the diminution of poverty by regulating industry, by sumptuary laws and similar means.[3] But in 1530–1 we have an elaborate Act of Parliament which, with a supplementary Act passed in 1536,[4] sketched out so complete a system of poor relief that some writers appear to think it unnecessary to describe in detail the later legislation of the sixteenth century. It is important to bear in mind the circumstances in which the Act of 1530–1 was passed, the objects with which it was framed, and the class of people it was meant to reach. The evil which alarmed the Government was the increase, not of impotent poor, but of the class of vagabonds and idle rogues, whose "great and excessyve nombres" came "by the occasyon of ydlenes, mother and rote of all vyces." They were the perpetrators of "contynuall theftes, murders, and other haynous offences, which displeased God, damaged the king's subjects, and disturbed the common weal of the realm." The "goode lawes, streyte statutes and

[1] 11 Henry VII., c. 2. [2] 19 Henry VII., c. 12.

[3] *E.g.* 1 Henry VIII., c. 14; 3 Henry VIII., c. 9; 4 Henry VIII., c. 5; 6 Henry VIII., c. 3; 7 Henry VIII., cc. 5, 6.

[4] 22 Henry VIII., c. 12, and 27 Henry VIII., c. 25. The former Act was continued by 25 Henry VIII., c. 6; 31 Henry VIII., c. 7; 33 Henry VIII., c. 17; 37 Henry VIII., c. 23. The latter was continued by 31 Henry VIII., c. 7, etc. For the history of 22 Henry VIII., c. 12, in later reigns, *vide infra*

Hundred of Flaxwell, Lincolnshire.



Hundred of Edmonton, Middlesex.

ordenances" of the king and his progenitors, which had been framed for the "most necessary and due reformacion" of this class, had failed in their object. The clauses of the Act directing the local authorities how to deal with the aged and impotent poor were obviously drawn up to facilitate the detection of vagabonds in order that they might receive the severe punishment meted out to them in the statute. If this interpretation of the statute be correct, we can more easily understand the nature of the problem which the Government had to solve. We may, of course, reject the explanation of the evil considered satisfactory at the time—viz, idleness—and, burning with righteous indignation against the landowners of the period, denounce the Government for its cruel treatment of the oppressed poor, driven from their homes by wrongful enclosures. Modern opinion on the effect of the enclosures has, perhaps, been unduly influenced by the account given in More's "Utopia,"

The Enclosures.

Hundred of Staplowe, Middlesex.

Hundred of Walshcroft, Lincolnshire.

SEALS USED FOR LABOURERS' PASSES.

(*British Museum.*)

which was published in 1516. But that work, remarkable as it is as a criticism of society at the period, is of no *statistical* value or importance: and on a subject of this character vague denunciation of enclosures, however eloquent and sympathetic, cannot be accepted as evidence (*cf.* p. 159, *note*). It is, indeed, probable that some of the sufferers by enclosures were, as an Act[1] of 1533–34 declares, "so discoraged with myserye and povertie that they fall dayly to thefte, robbery, and other inconvenience, or pitifully dye for hunger and colde." But even assuming that enclosures caused widespread distress, it is difficult to understand from the returns to the Inquisition of 1517[2] how they could have proceeded so far by that year as to justify the sweeping statements in the "Utopia." It may fairly be argued that the enclosures by stimulating industry, helped to remove the poverty and vagabondage they are said to have caused. It is probable that enclosure was frequently urged at this time, as in the seventeenth century[3], as an excuse for begging.

Causes of Distress.

A contemporary document,[4] showing considerable insight, enumerates several causes of dearth in 1528. One cause was the pressure of taxation for the king's foreign wars. The author there points out that there had been a great rot and murrain amongst the cattle, but "in pasture there is very little murrain seen or none." There had been three or four marvellously dry summers, which produced "surfeits" among the cattle and sheep, owing to the scarcity of grass and lack of hay and water. In many parts of England cattle had to be driven five or six miles to water, and owing to this cause there were "little or no fat cattle in the common fields." The lack of fodder had prevented husbandmen from breeding lambs or calves, and "those that were bred were hunger-bitten and worth little, except those bred in pasture." Another cause of dearth was to be found in the conduct of the

[1] 25 Henry VIII., c. 13.

[2] Edited by Mr. Leadam for the Royal Historical Society; see *Transactions*, vii.

[3] *Vide* the controversy about the Leicestershire enclosures in 1653–54, etc., between John Moore of Knaptoft and Joseph Lee. Moore published in 1653 *The Crying Sin of England*, which provoked Lee's reply *Concerning Common Fields and Enclosures*, 1653–54. The controversy was continued in Moore's *Reply*, 1653, and Lee's *Vindication of the Considerations*, 1656. *Vide* also Nicholl's *History of Leicestershire*, iv., I., pp. 83–89.

[4] *Considerations as to the dearness of all manner of Victuals*, 1528. [Calendar of State Papers (Henry VIII.), vol. iv., pt. 2, 3761.]

regraters and forestallers of cattle. In Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, and the North "no grazier can buy either lean or fat beasts, except at third or fourth hand." Notwithstanding all this, the author concludes, "thanked be God, all thing is plentiful at this day as ever it was, and like to be if God send seasonable weather, also if the pastures at this day may continue, and then can dearth never long continue," for "the murrain in the common fields hardly attacks the cattle in the pastures at all." The latter, again, relieve the common fields with their breed of cattle, "to the increasing of the husbands and the composing of their land, which is the chief cause of the plenty of corn, which will never be scarce as long as there are plenty of sheep." The evidence on the subject of enclosures is too conflicting to form the basis of a precise estimate of the extent to which they did or did not increase poverty and swell the number of vagabonds. But we may safely say that the popular view, based upon More and other writers, is considerably exaggerated.

VAGABONDS.

(*Barclay, "Ship of Fools,"* 1509.)

It is not difficult to account for the increase of vagabondism in other ways. The statutes themselves bear witness to the shamefully negligent manner in which they were administered. No doubt vast numbers of vagabonds never heard of the laws in force against them, much less suffered from their operation, and pursued their calling unchecked. It must also be remembered that it requires much skill and experience to distinguish genuine from feigned distress, and humane magistrates, even when they were thoroughly in earnest in the execution of the law, would probably give an offending vagabond the benefit of the doubt. It would fill many pages of this work to describe the clever devices resorted to by idle rogues to enable them to live on the charity of the public.[1] We may condemn the Church for inculcating the

Causes of Vagabondism.

[1] For a full and interesting account of begging at this period, *see* Ribton Turner's *History of Vagrants and Vagrancy.*

duty of indiscriminate charity, but the monks of the sixteenth century were no more anxious than the Charity Organisation Society to expend their shrinking revenues on the idle, the improvident, and the vicious, and their duties were, on the whole, as well and efficiently discharged as could be expected. Of the "halt, the maimed, and the blind," who resorted to monastery and hospital, many were doubtless in the enjoyment of perfect health, and as soon as it could safely be done, stripped off the artificial sores, the made-up wounds, and other disguises of the professional beggar, to enjoy in comfort the largess of the monks. It was easy to live in idleness when the principles which should govern the distribution of relief were so ill understood. Mere vagabondism, unredeemed by any feature of genuine distress, was one of the crying evils of the time, and the Government was quite right in trying to put it down. Whether the means adopted are to be commended, is another question. Few persons would now approve of the harshness and severity of Henry's laws.

Provisions of Henry VIII.'s Poor-laws.

The Act of 1530–31 provided for the settlement and registration of those who were compelled to live by alms. These were to be licensed to beg within certain limits. But all unlicensed begging was to be rigorously suppressed. Any able-bodied beggar, whether man or woman, was to be taken to the next market town, and "there to be tyed to the end of a carte naked, and be beten with whyppes throughoute the same market towne tyll his body be bloody by reason of suche whypping." After undergoing this severe punishment, the beggar was to be sent back to the place of his birth, or where he had dwelt for three years, and "there put hym selfe to laboure, lyke as a true man oweth to doo." Fines were imposed on parishes and officers failing to give effect to the law, and penalties were enacted for harbouring or rescuing beggars.[1] Scholars of the universities, sailors, pardoners, and others, were liable to this statute if begging without a licence. For the first offence, they were to be whipped in the same manner as ordinary vagabonds; for the second, to be scourged two days, to be put in the pillory, and to lose one ear; for the third, the scourging and the pillory were to be again administered and the other ear to be cut off. It

[1] For examples of presentments under this clause, *see Records of the Borough of Nottingham.*

will be noticed that there was no provision in this statute for the relief of the poor, or for the employment or reformation of the vagabonds when they had reached their native place. Possibly it was thought that voluntary effort would be sufficient for the purpose; and incomplete as it was, the statute remained without amendment or addition for five years. A supplementary Act was then passed, and the two together constituted the system for dealing with paupers and vagabonds for the rest of

WHIPPING POST.

(From a photograph, by permission of T. D. Atkinson, Esq.)

Henry's reign. The Act of 1535–56 provided that the local authorities should receive the poor "most charitably," and should "succour, kepe, and find them" by means of voluntary and charitable alms, which were to be collected by the churchwardens or other officials on Sundays, holy days, and other festivals. Accounts of the money received were to be rendered. But no common or open dole was to be given, except to the common boxes, on pain of forfeiting ten times the sum given. Sturdy vagabonds and valiant beggars were to be set to continual labour

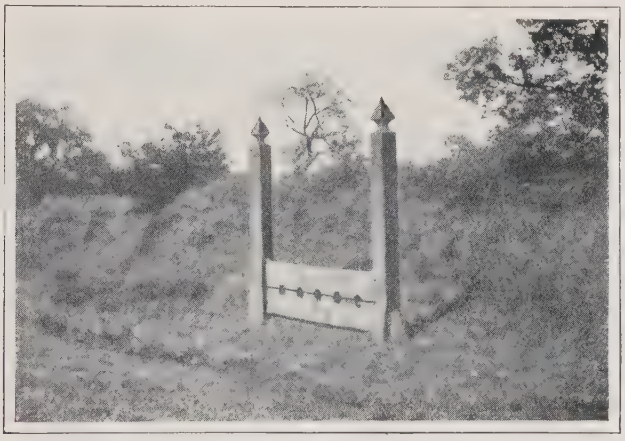
for their own maintenance. But the statute does not state in what manner this difficult task was to be accomplished. The parish authorities were left to settle the matter as well as they could. The statute also authorised the apprenticing of children between five and fourteen years of age in husbandry or handicraft, and on their refusal or deserting service, they were to be openly whipped with rods.

Poverty and the Monasteries.

The influence of the dissolution of the monasteries on the condition of the poor has always excited much controversy, and in dealing with so vast and widespread an organisation, in which there was room for men with good, bad, and indifferent powers of administration, it is not difficult to make out a strong case against the methods which were employed for the relief of the poor. Norfolk declared to Cromwell in 1537 that there were two causes of vagabondism in Yorkshire—the alms distributed in religious houses, and the slackness of the justices in doing their duty; and in conformity with this view orders were issued to the latter to put in execution the laws against vagabonds, and to the abbots, priors, and other governors of religious houses, not to give meat, drink, or other relief to sturdy vagabonds.[1] As we have already pointed out, many persons who found the beggar's profession a lucrative one no doubt obtained alms at the monasteries and hospitals. But the difficulty was to detect them. So far as the monasteries lent themselves to the successful practice of imposition, they tended to perpetuate the evil which the Government was anxious to remove. If we remember that this was precisely the charge which was brought by reformers against the Old Poor Law, *i.e.* against the system which replaced that of the monasteries and other foundations, we shall be on our guard against sweeping condemnations of the latter. They were probably, like most other institutions, not wholly beneficent in their influence nor the reverse. From their financial condition in the sixteenth century we should not expect to find great carelessness in the distribution of relief. They knew also that the charge of manufacturing paupers by the practice of indiscriminate charity was being urged against them by those who were eager for their downfall, and like other Englishmen of the time they must have been deeply impressed with the gravity of the evil from which the country was suffering. Indeed, their

[1] *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* (Henry VIII.), 1537, 14.

very position enabled them to see far more of the actual condition of the people than was possible even to a justice of the peace. The relation of the monasteries to the question of poor relief no doubt demanded inquiry and reformation, but they cannot be regarded as mere centres of pauperisation. If their suppression deprived many sturdy beggars of the means of living in idleness, it also brought starvation to many aged and impotent poor who looked to them for relief. It must also be remembered that the suppression deprived a large number of persons dependent for their employment on the monasteries of the



STOCKS.

(*From a photograph, by permission of T. D. Atkinson, Esq.*)

means of earning a livelihood (p. 69).[1] Many of these would be absorbed in other occupations, or would find employment under the new owners. But a residuum would join the ranks of the able-bodied beggars; and, as Eden[2] points out, the new landlords were generally absentees. The monastic system of poor relief was not different from that pursued in the hospitals, many of which survived the Reformation, and were, indeed, regarded as an important element in the organisation of relief. All the statutes of the sixteenth century contain important provisoes safeguarding the funds of these foundations and their administration.

[1] Some interesting particulars on this point will be found in Gasquet's *Suppression of the Monasteries.*

[2] *History of the Poor Law*, vol. i., chap. ii.

There are also many private Acts dealing with them, from which it is evident that their existence was not supposed by the Government to increase the number of paupers. New regulations were not infrequently imposed, and the management of some was transferred from the dissolved monastery, or priory, to the municipal authorities. But it is to be feared that this measure, instead of increasing their power for good, only led to the alienation of endowments left to the poor, and that too many of them shared the fate of the Hospital of St. John at Bath, where most of the funds were "frittered away in payments to players, for bearbaiting, and in presents to magnate visitors."[1]

The Poor-Law under Edward VI

The reign of Edward VI. began with a remarkable statute[2] for the punishment of vagabonds and the relief of the poor. The preamble states that former laws had had small effect because of the "foolish pytie and mercy" of those who should have seen them executed. There was therefore a constant increase of "idle and vagabonde persons,' "whom, if they should be punished by death, whipping, imprisonment, and with other corporal paine, it were not without their desertes, for the example of others, and to the benefit of the commonwealth. Yet if they could be brought to be made profitable, and doe servyce, it were muche to be wished and desired." So the laws of Henry VIII. were repealed.

The Undeserving Poor.

There is no object to be gained by describing in detail the provisions of this long and savage law which the Government substituted. Branding with a hot iron, slavery, and the death of a felon were the penalties at successive stages of vagabondism. Men and women were to be treated in the same fashion. The master of such a slave might "let, set forthe, sel, bequeathe, or geve" his labour and service, "after such like sorte and maner as he might do of any other his moveable goodes and cattalles." He might also put a ring of iron about the neck, arm, or leg of his slave, "for a more knowledge and suertie of the keping of hym."

It is remarkable that a hundred and fifty years later a famous

[1] *Vide* King and Watts' *Municipal Records of Bath*, Humbert's *Memorials of the Hospital of St. Cross*, the history of Wigston's Hospital in Nicholl's *History of Leicestershire*, i., pp. 471–504, etc.

[2] 1 Edward VI., c. 8. For this Act and all subsequent Acts up to 18 Elizabeth, c. 3, the edition of the Statutes quoted is Richard Tottel's. For the other Acts the large folio edition.

Scot, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, proposed slavery as a remedy for pauperism.[1] While he did not defend "any of those bad and cruel regulations about slaves," he explained "under what conditions they might be both good and useful, as well as necessary, in a well-regulated government." The master was not to have power over the slave's life, or for mutilation or torture. The slave, his wife and children, were to be provided with

CONFRATORS HOUSE, WYGGESTON'S HOSPITAL, LEICESTER.
(*From a lithograph by J. Flower, about* 1825.)

clothes, food, and lodging, to be educated at the master's expense, and to have Sunday holidays. Except in matters relating to their duty as servants, they were to be under the protection of the law, and not subject to the will of their masters. They were not to possess property, and they might be sold—that is, Fletcher explained, their services might be alienated without their consent. He proposed to compel every man of a certain estate "to take a proportionate number of vagabonds on these

[1] *See* his second *Discourse Concerning the Affairs of Scotland*, 1698.

conditions, and to set them to work." Under such a system, he maintained that they would be better off than those who, "having a power to possess all things, are very often in want of everything." Fletcher's proposal may help modern readers to understand that slavery in times past might be advocated as a remedy for pauperism from perfectly humane motives; much more when the object in view was not "to do mercy" but punishment and repression.

The Deserving Poor.

There is a sharp contrast between the treatment proposed in 1547 for vagabonds and the principles of poor relief in the same statute. The aged and impotent poor were to be provided with habitations at the charge of the parish. For the provision of relief for those in "unfained misery," the curate of the parish was ordered "to make (according to such talent as God hath geven him) a godlye and briefe exhortation to hys parishioners: moving and exciting them to remembre the poore people and the duetie of Christian charitie in relieving of them which bee their brethren in Christe, born in the same parish, and nedinge theire helpe."

MISER AND PRODIGAL.
(*Barclay, "Ship of Fools,"* 1509.)

Further Legislation.

When two years later[1] this Act was repealed and Henry VIII.'s first Act[2] was revived, the above provisions for the aged and impotent poor were incorporated in the new statute. Another two years elapsed, when an important addition was made to the law.[3] We have already seen that in 1535–36 special provision had been made for the collection of alms, and for rendering account of the sums given. It was now enacted that special "collectors" should be elected on the Sunday

[1] 3 and 4 Edward VI., c. 16.

[2] 22 Henry VIII., c. 12. Henry's second Act, 27 Henry VIII., c. 25, was never revived.

[3] 5 and 6 Edward VI., c. 2. Re-enacted by 1 Mary, c. 13, s. ii.; 1 Mary, c. 12, Parl. sec.

after Whit-Sunday; who, after divine service on the Sunday after their election, or on the following Sunday, should "gently aske and demaund of every man or woman what they of their charitie [would] be contented to geve weekly toward the reliefe of the poor." These sums were to be entered in a register of the householders, and distributed amongst the poor in proportion to their needs. A penalty of 20s. was imposed for refusal to fill the office of collector; and quarterly accounts were to be rendered. Persons refusing to give alms, or discouraging others from doing so, were to be exhorted by the vicar; and on his failure, by the bishop of the diocese, who might take order at his discretion for their reformation. Numerous illustrations might be given of the administration of Edward's last two poor laws. For example, at Ipswich two persons in every parish were nominated by the bailiff to inquire into and report on the poor in 1551. In 1556 eight persons were elected to look after the maintenance of the poor and impotent, for providing them with work, for suppressing vagabonds, etc. A subscription of £4 is noted towards the foundation of a house for that purpose.[1] But the sums given voluntarily for the poor were quite inadequate for the purposes of the Act. Subscriptions had to be taken on terms dictated by the giver, and they were in consequence irregular and of varying amount.[2] It was also found necessary to keep the magistrates up to the mark by constantly sending them orders to put the law into execution.[3]

The Poor Law under Mary.

Short as was the reign of Mary, some attention was given to the subject of poor relief. The changes made in the law[4] are too important to be overlooked. The time for the election of the collectors was altered from Whitsuntide to Christmas; and the penalty for refusing the office was raised to 40s. From this provision, we may surmise that there was considerable reluctance to discharge the duties of "collector." With no compulsory powers, the collection of alms must have

[1] *Vide* Bacon's *Annalls of Ipswiche*, pp. 235, 239, 247, 249, etc.

[2] *Vide*, for example, the "Register Books of the Benevolence of the Parishioners [of Lambeth] for the relief of the Poor," 1552. (Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, iv., p. 464.)

[3] *Acts of the Privy Council* (1551–52), p. 260, etc.

[4] 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c. 5.

[1547

presented many difficulties, and it could in no circumstances have been a very agreeable task. Thus the office would be likely to be given to persons the least fitted for it—namely, those who hoped to filch something for themselves out of the sums subscribed for the poor. Accordingly we have another amendment aimed at defaulting collectors. A few words were added to Edward's statute authorising the bishop to exercise on them the compulsion which the episcopal censure carried with it in the sixteenth century. It was also ordered that wealthier parishes should be "persuaded" to assist those surcharged with poor. Thus we have seen that the Government, beginning with attempts to suppress vagabondism, in the interests of order and good government, was gradually forced to grapple with the problem of relieving the poor. Before the accession of Elizabeth, the foundations of the system associated with her reign were laid. By a long series of statutes, all of them tentative, enacted for short periods, re-enacted if found satisfactory, repealed if unsuitable, the leading principles of the "old Poor Law" were firmly established, and the Government was being unwillingly and gradually forced to the adoption of the compulsory rate.

CHARLES CREIGHTON. Public Health.

THE reign of Edward VI. was not without the long-standing plague, both in town and country, in 1550 and 1553, but its chief medical interest is that it witnessed the fifth and last epidemic of the sweating sickness in 1551. The fifth epidemic probably differed little from the previous four (two of them in Henry VII.'s reign, and two, in 1517 and 1528, in Henry VIII.'s); but it deserves a fuller notice for the reason that some traces of its ravages remain in bills of mortality and in the parish registers, which had been kept since 1538 by many, although by no means by all, of the clergy. The epidemic began, oddly enough, at Shrewsbury, in the end of March or the beginning of April. It is said to have appeared in some towns on the borders of Wales, and in Coventry and Oxford in its progress towards London; but it is clear that it was little felt in any part of England until its usual season, the summer. It was at Loughborough, in Leicestershire, on the 24th June; in London on the

The Sweating Sickness.

7th July; at Cambridge on the 16th July; at Uffculme, in Devonshire, on the 1st August; near Leeds on the 7th August; and at Ulverston, in the north of Lancashire, on the 17th August. It lasted no longer than a fortnight or three weeks at any one place, and the king, in a letter of 22nd August, written during a progress, says that most part of England was then clear of sickness. But it was very severe while it lasted. Thus upwards of nine hundred died of it in and near London, from the 7th to the 30th July, the greatest mortality on one day having been one hundred and twenty on the 10th; at Ulverston thirty-nine died in eight days, eleven of these on the 20th August. At Swithington, near Leeds, thirty-nine were buried between the 17th and 26th August from "plague," *i.e.* the sweat. At Uffculme twenty-seven died of it in the first eleven days of August, the deaths for the whole year being only thirty-eight. At Loughborough nineteen died of it in six days; at Oxford sixty fell ill in one night, and one hundred more next day in the neighbouring villages; but the physician who records the fact says that very few died of it. Two princes of the blood, who were students at Cambridge, the Duke of Suffolk and his brother, Charles Brandon, died of it within half an hour of each other at a country house in Huntingdonshire, whither they had been removed to escape the infection in the university.

Its Character.

Owing to the suddenness of the attack and the swiftness of its execution, it received such familiar names as "Stop, gallant!" "Stop! knave, and know thy master"; it was also called the "posting sweat" (because it posted from town to town), the "new acquaintance," the "hot sickness," or the like.

The fifth epidemic of the sweat during a few weeks of the summer of 1551 was the last of it in England; it died out, or became an extinct species of disease,[1] having had a comparatively brief duration of sixty-seven years. It was expected to come back; and widespread epidemic disease, with a sweating character, did come back in 1557 and 1558, as well as in the generation following. But these later epidemics were not the true English sweat; that had been a short and sharp attack, all

[1] It is referred to in the Rubric to the Office for the Visitation of the Sick in the English Prayer Book.

over in death or in recovery within twenty-four hours; you were despatched, as the French ambassador wrote from London in 1528, "without languishing, as in those troublesome fevers." The subsequent epidemics with a sweating type (they had occurred before in 1510 and 1539–40) were the languishing, troublesome fevers, which were known each time they appeared as "the new disease," "the new ague," "the strange fever," "the hot ague," "the new delight," or other such playful names, indicating at once their troublesome nature and their somewhat smaller risk to life. These epidemics are interesting, inasmuch as it is not always easy to distinguish the epidemics that would now be called influenza from the "hot agues" or "strange fevers." One of the greatest periods of these in England (and elsewhere) befell in the summers and autumns of 1557 and 1558, six or seven years after the last sweat; and they had then the sweating type so pronounced that a physician who had an attack near Southampton in 1558 actually calls the disease a sweat, and compares it with the sweat of King Edward's reign, which had cut off "the two noble princes of Suffolk, imps of honour most towardly." At Rodwell, near Leeds, where the burials seldom exceeded twenty in a year, they rose in 1557 to seventy-six, and in 1558 to 124. Those two epidemics, in 1557 and 1558, made a great impression all over the country; the annalists record them as having cut off "many of the wealthiest men all England through," as having been especially severe on the clergy, "so that a great number of parishes were unserved and no curates to be gotten," and as having been so severe on the labourers "that much corn was lost in the fields" for lack of hands to reap and carry it; and as having been so general that "a third part of the people of the land did taste the general sickness." Queen Mary herself, who died in the winter of 1558, appears to have been a victim of the lingering effects of the epidemic fever. The same epidemics of "hot agues" recur at intervals in the history—in 1580, perhaps also in 1596 (giving occasion to Shakespeare's mention of "the sweat," along with war, poverty, and the gallows, as spoiling the custom of the bawd in *Measure for Measure*), on several occasions (even two or more seasons in succession) throughout the seventeenth century, and most recently for several seasons about the year 1780—most recently, that is to say, if we do not discover the same

Ague and Influenza.

mysterious form of epidemic sickness among the influenzas of 1889–94. They make, on the whole, a distinct species in the general class of influenzas, which have had more often the type of "universal colds" than of universal fevers, or universal agues. On several occasions a season of distinct "universal cold" has been interpolated between two seasons of equally distinct epidemic ague.

The universal agues of the end of Queen Mary's reign suggest one other remark on the public health of England, which holds good for the whole period covered in this survey. So much is said of "agues" in old writings—whether books, domestic letters, or State papers — the business of the ague-curer was affected by so many of the class of empirics down even to the time of George II., that it looks on the surface as if England had been a highly malarious or marshy country, and as if malaria had been at one time a standing danger to the public health, as it is now in so many countries of the sub-tropical and tropical zones. It will be found, however, that the malarious districts of England were as special and as well known as such in early times as they were within recent memory. It is undoubtedly true that the Fens and other marshy tracts have been drained; but the drainage of the Fens began soon after the Norman Conquest, and from the time of James I. it had probably reduced malarial fever among their residents almost to the point at which it stood some fifty years ago. Again, Romney "Marsh" had "many great farms and holdings," which had been converted into

PHYSICIAN IN GOWN.
(*Bullein, "Boke of Use of Sick Men and Medicines,"* 1562.)

Malaria.

grazing land in the time of Henry VIII. The narrow limitation of the truly malarious parts of England is shown in an absurd admission or boast of a famous ague-curer of Charles II.'s time—the quack Talbor. To qualify for his speciality he had resided for some time in a malarious parish on the Essex shore of the Thames, and, having learned his business in actual contact with the disease, had come to London to practise it upon all and sundry who had "agues" of one kind or another, or thought that they had ague. It is clear from the records that "ague" was often of the nature of "vapours," brought on by surfeits and immoderate drinking of ale. But even when ague was a true fever, with paroxysms and intermissions, or with relapses, it was much more rarely the endemic fever of a malarious region than the ague of one of those strange universal epidemics, which were frequent enough, and sometimes so prolonged over a succession of seasons, as to make the aguish type a common one in practice from year to year—more common, of course, in one year than another, and sometimes absent for years together, as medical chronologies clearly show.

The Health of London.

As to London in particular, and the country close to it, we may be sure that malaria had little or no effect on the public health. A celebrated modern writer on the fevers of Britain does indeed say that "the country surrounding London was, in Cromwell's time, as marshy as the Fens in Lincolnshire now are." But he is merely raising a verbal construction upon a misunderstood use of the term "ague." The ague that the Lord Protector contracted at Hampton Court, and died of at Whitehall, was the epidemic "strange fever" of the summer and autumn of 1658, just as Queen Mary's ague was the same mysterious epidemic disease a century before: marshy or malarial conditions were not more directly a cause of these agues than of our recent influenzas all over England. The country round London was much the same then as it is now; the one great moor or fen near the walls had been drained dry in Henry VIII.'s time, and so made the Moorfield—a people's park, crossed by roads and paths. If there were any marked difference in the amount of water about London in former times, it was that the Thames used to flow in a wider channel, and occasionally inundate the low grounds of Lambeth and Pimlico. But the country round London—the northern heights from

Homerton to Hampstead, the southern range of wooded lawns from Stockwell and Camberwell to Greenwich Park—that configuration of hill and vale, was such as it had ever been since the last geological change, deserving all that FitzStephen, in the time of Richard I., had said of its healthful air and pleasant meadows, and not truly malarious, in the strict sense of the term, at any later period of history.

JAMES COLVILLE. The Kingdom of Scotland, 1124-1561.

THE story of Celtic Scotland is many times more shadowy and confusing than that of the Saxon Heptarchy. Living interest in the national annals begins with the accession of David I. (1124). Youngest son of Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret, and therefore half Saxon, half Celt, he overlaid the native qualities of the two races with the dominating and organising characteristics of the Normans, of whom he was ever an apt pupil, and converted a loose confederacy of pastoral tribes into a feudal state. Till the disastrous death of Alexander III. ended the direct line of Canmore (1286), the country enjoyed a vigorous period of consolidation and reconstruction in church, burgh, and baronage. The War of Independence

ST. FILLAN'S CROZIER AND ITS CASE.
(*National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh.*)

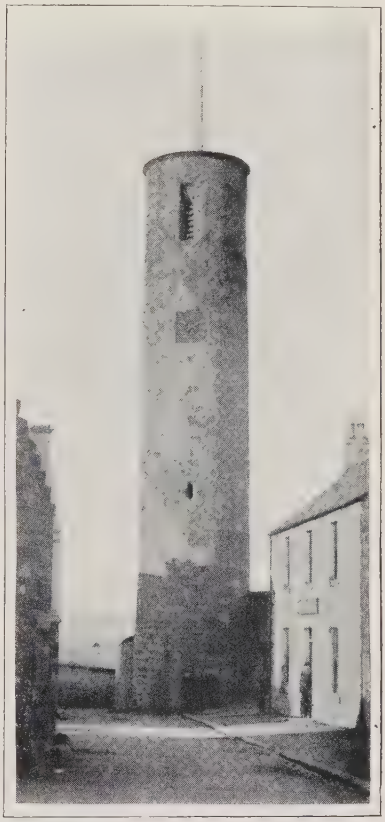
(1286–1328) was fatal to progress. The Treaty of Northampton (1328), which secured the recognition of Scottish nationality, was dearly bought. The long war had hastened that disintegration which was the bane of feudalism, increased the power of the barons, and paved the way for a period (1329–1424) of weak kings and lawless factions. Still more fatal were the efforts of the later Plantagenets, openly and insidiously, to wreck the work of Bruce. The return of James I. from English captivity gave promise of another David I., after the lapse of exactly three centuries, but the progress of this period (1424-1513) was marred by all the evils of a rampant feudalism, fast working out its own ruin.

SUENO'S STONE, NEAR FORRES.

Scotia proper, the ancient Alban, was the Celtic nucleus of the State, and the Wessex of the Scottish crown. The Forth, its southern boundary, was long known as the Scottis Water. From this as a centre King David overran the Lothians, Tweeddale, and Strathclyde, and there planted feudal civilisation, barons in strong castles, and abbots well endowed. Galloway, with its "wild men," and David's duchy of Cumberland, long formed sources of weakness and danger on the skirts of the kingdom. The eastern seaboard, the Scottish "Dane-law" (I., p. 212) was the backbone of progress in its industrial population, either of Angles settled for ages on the frontier of Alban, or recent arrivals from England and the Low Countries. To

Racial Elements and Social Classes.

the west the semi-independent Norsemen and the old Celtic Mormaors had still to be dealt with. But the battles of Largs (1263) and Harlaw (1411) removed all apprehensions of danger on this score. The palatinate of Moravia, formed by Norman colonies on the ruins of the Celtic lordships of Moray, Ross, and Caithness, secured the kingdom on its northern side.



ROUND TOWER, ABERNETHY, PERTHSHIRE.

David I. was the Alfred of his people. His guiding principle was to make a peaceful farming population out of a warlike pastoral one. For the Celtic ruling classes such as the mormaor or senior of a confederacy he substituted the Norman earl, with the powers of a Warden of the Marches; for the toshach, or tribal chief, the Saxon sheriff, vicecomes, or local deputy of the king; for the brehon, or clan judge, the deemster; and for the class of freebooting duine-uasal or gentry, freeholders by military tenure. He induced the baronial class, now chartered possessors of their lands, to convert their native-men, neifs, or serfs, into a crofting peasantry of *rustici fermarii*, each tilling a portion of the common holding of the vill or hamlet. This churl-born class, unfortunately, long remained mere tenants-at-will. Lowest of all were the unenfranchised serfs, the toilers on the abbey grange or barons' demesne, and doubtless the residuum of the Celtic population, but they disappeared by the middle of the fourteenth century.

"Commendation," based on the customs of the tribal

commune, served as a police system. Every man must have a lord or corporate body to be his *borh* or pledge in any breach of the law. For the old ordeals was substituted the *visnet*, or jury of leal and honest men of the neighbourhood. On the local courts of burgh and barony were conferred the right of punishment by imprisonment or even death. To contend with the great social evils of violence and theft there were the *bloodwite*, or compensation for injuries, and the con-

Law and Order.

RUINS OF KELSO ABBEY.

dition of open sale of goods in free market with a *warranter* as security that they were honestly come by. Finally, the king, as fountain of justice, through his justiciars, held circuit courts twice a year, in early summer and autumn, or "anys wi' the gyrs and anys wi' the corn." The burghs, which owed, if not their creation, at least their constitution, to David I. and William the Lion, greatly aided law and order. They were entirely foreign to Celtic habits. Their ancient laws still survive, and their *anse* or federation existed a century before any other of the kind. A burgess must have at least a rood

Burghs

of land as his buroage, paying an annual rent of fivepence to the king. Those rents, serving the purposes of modern taxation, were at first collected by the *ballivus regis*, but

NEIDPATH CASTLE, TWEEDDALE.

before the fourteenth century the burghs had secured charters by payment of a fixed yearly *reddendo*, so that each burgess became a freeholding crown vassal. Edinburgh's charter, the oldest, is dated 1329. The burghs were represented in the first Parliament of the Three Estates, at Cambusken-

neth, 1326. The earliest recorded burgh election is that of Aberdeen (1398).

Burghal Customs.

Perth was the only walled burgh. The houses were of wood, and fires were frequent; but the citizens were merciful to the man whose house began it, "for sorrow & heviness has he ineuch foroutyn mar." At the Townhead, generally on a high ground, stood the king's, bishop's, or baron's castle for defence, and from it sloped the high street, with its tolbooth, mercat cross, and cuk-stool (pillory), where offenders endured "the lauch o' the toon." At the Townend was the spital for lepers. Fortnightly the burgesses held their moot, and when the Chamberlain was on his *ayre* [journey] they were summoned

SEAL OF WILLIAM THE LION.

to answer to their names. The burghs were close trading corporations. Goods must be exposed in bulk at the mercat cross and at the legal hours of sale. Retailers, such as bakers and butchers, must show their wares at window openly. There must be no forestalling or hoarding to force up prices. "Broustar-wives" must show the ale-wand in window or over the door as proof that the appraisers had passed their brew. These officials regulated strictly both the quality and price of articles, and there were enactments against adulteration and scamped workmanship. Though anxious about equal and fair dealing all round, these communities were aristocratic. Trade refused to rub shoulders with handicraft, and the merchant guilds secured to themselves privileges. Jealousy of the landed

gentry was a marked feature. Any bondsman from the Uplands might get his freedom by securing a buroage and occupying it for a year and a day. The gentry, too, must sell their wool and hides to a guild brother, and buy goods from a free burgess. The burgesses knew nothing of burdensome feudal services, such as the marriage fine, the death duty, and wardships. The training they got in citizenship was admirable, ranging from the duties of provosts and bailies, appraisers, collectors of great and petty customs, to humble watchmen. Pageants preserved the feelings of brotherhood. The crafts marched to

ABBEY GATEWAY, SCONE.

the church on their saint's day with offerings of wax candles. A great holiday was the riding of the marches on St. Michael's or on Senzie (Ascension) Day. More boisterous was the mirth when burgess' sons personated the Abbot and Prior of Unreason at Pasch (Easter) and Beltane (May Day).

Trade.

Foreign trade in Celtic times was concentrated on the Tay, near the palace of Scone. With the extension of the kingdom southwards Berwick sprang into importance, its revenues in Alexander III.'s time equalling one-third of the whole customs of England. Its prosperity excited the envy of Edward I., and the siege (1296), so vividly narrated by Barbour, is one

of the most horrible incidents of the war. The traders were Flemings, who lived in a castellated factory, the Red Hall, and a stout defence they made under John Crab, a daring sea-captain and merchant prince. When Berwick had to be given up as the one trophy of the war, Perth took its place. Its most noted burgess, John Mercer, was one of the richest traders of the time, and successively custumar (collector or farmer of the customs), provost, royal chamberlain, and financial agent for the king's ransom after Nevil's Cross. Edward I. did all he could to cripple Scottish traders, but by the truce of Calais (1348) they regained their rights. Home trade was carried on at the fairs, held on the saint's day for the town church. This was the one season in the year when the exclusive barriers in burgh were broken down. Then the dusty-feet, or pedlars, were welcomed to erect their booths, local courts were suspended, and privileges granted that made the occasion a merry saturnalia.

The Country.

The cartularies of the abbeys throw a flood of fresh contemporary light on the rural economy; and this is further illustrated by the legislation of the early Jameses designed to ameliorate the condition of the country, improve farming, preserve woods and forests, destroy wolves and rapacious birds, and protect the natural sources of food. Impressions, not altogether favourable, of the appearance of the country and the condition of the people are supplied by the foreign visitors, Froissart (1360) and Æneas Sylvius (1448).

The dreary tale of the pitiless war and outrage which the nation had to endure for independence may be read in the pages of Barbour, Blind Harry, and the chroniclers. The annals of such a sturdy fighting-time have much to tell of peculiar modes of warfare, of the equipment of the different ranks, of struggles with novel and unmanageable artillery, or weapon-schawings, and "hostings."

Court Life.

The most complete picture of higher social life is to be constructed from the Exchequer Rolls and the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. The Court moved constantly up and down the country, consuming the *kain* rents of the royal demesnes. Alexander III.'s long visits to Forfar Castle, and Bruce's closing years at Cardross, supply minute details of the domestic surroundings of these kings, even to the English fool and the pet

lion that the hero kept. The accounts for Tarbert Castle, which he built then, show the cost and construction of a royal mansion in the Middle Ages. James IV.'s personal expenditure tells in the quaintest language of the Court rejoicings at Yule

STIRLING CASTLE.

and Uphaliday (Twelfth Night); of fees to players, ballad-singers, and fools; of largesses to beggars on his numerous journeyings; of humble offerings to him of fruit, game, and birds to train hawks with; of the strange sea creatures that were esteemed as dainties; of dresses for every-day wear, in all their

styles, colours, and costs. Important public works he undertook, as the building of Dunbar Castle and Stirling Palace; and they afford a notion of the resources and standard of living of the time. Most interesting of all is the minute account of the building of a great barge at Dumbarton, the artificers, the materials, and how they were procured, and the cost. It is pleasant to know that in the days of Columbus there were sturdy Scottish mariners like Barton and the Woods, and stout barques like the *Christopher*, the *Flower*, and the *Yellow Caravel*.

Culture and Civilisation.

In a general retrospect of the four centuries preceding Flodden, the nation as a whole shows to advantage. The peasant, still dependent and feeble, Froissart found to be very different from his abject brethren in France. The Crown was, as a rule, honest, merciful, and law-abiding, and the revenues were never arbitrarily increased. The kings sympathised with the poor and oppressed. The burgesses, despite the narrow economics of the time, were not lacking in enterprise. To the Church were owing the schools we find existing in some of the burghs as far back as the twelfth century. In 1496 an Act was passed to compel barons and knights to give a better education to their eldest sons, but it had no practical consequences. Greater success attended the efforts of those cultured churchmen, Wardlaw, Kennedy, Turnbull, and Elphinstone, in founding the universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, the great glories of the fifteenth century. Contemporary with the Chaucerian national literature we have vigorous native artists like Barbour (1375), Blind Harry (1460), and James I. (1424); intelligent chroniclers like Fordun (1387), Wyntoun (1420), Bower (1449), and Pitscottie (1480); and alongside of this an undercurrent of popular minstrelsy to which Barbour and Wyntoun allude. It is the barons that all through give the poorest account of themselves. Chivalry had few such knights as the heroes of Barbour's loving pen (Vol. II., p. 693), the tender-hearted Bruce and the good Earl Douglas, who, like Chaucer's Squire, carved before his guardian, the Bishop of St. Andrews, at the table. Bower revels in recording the accomplishments of James I., a knight worthy to rank with his friend,

Shakespeare's Prince Hal. According to the Spanish Ambassador, Ayala, James IV. was even more highly gifted. Such kings, had they lived out their days, might have sweetened the harsh features of feudalism, but these were fated to prevail. "Never," says Ross, "did a nobility prove itself more unworthy of its privileges, or more unfit to guide and civilise a people." The best that can be said of them

CHAPEL OF ST. LEONARD'S COLLEGE, ST. ANDREWS.

is the general reflection of Froude: "In the history of Scotland weakness is nowhere; power, energy, and will are everywhere."

A Golden Age.

THE reign of James IV. was one of the few oases of peace and prosperity in the distracted history of Scottish nationality. Peace with the ancient enemy had been assured by the king's marriage with Margaret Tudor, and there bade fair to be an end of the "auld times o' ruggin' and ridin'." A national literature was created (Vol. II., p. 700, *seq.*); and Henryson, Gawin Douglas, Dunbar, and Lyndsay showed that the genius of poetry, which slumbered in England from Chaucer to Spenser, was first to reawaken in their northern

PORTRAITS OF JAMES III. AND IV.

(*Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.*)

clime. They appealed to the popular reader, so that they not only attracted immediate attention, made possible by the introduction of printing in 1508, but now throw a flood of light on the social conditions on the eve of the Reformation. Even the learned Gawin Douglas chooses for his translation of Virgil the language he had learned in boyhood, while Lyndsay boldly directs his rhymes to colliers, carters, cooks, and home-spun peasants, no matter what *cunning* men may think of them. There is no stronger witness to the depth and persistency of the national feeling than this continuity of the Northern tongue. **Language.**

EXPERIENCE AND THE COURTIER.
(*Lyndsay, "Dialog,"* 1566.)

The oldest *braid Scottis*, the vernacular of the Burgh Laws, speaks in the accents of Ramsay and Burns, of Scott and Carlyle in their homely youth. Norman-French never was the Court tongue in the North, though it was used in diplomacy. The poet-king, James I., though inspired by Chaucer, wrote for rustics, while the last of the independent sovereigns, James VI., not only commanded Bellenden to translate the Latin history of Boece for the vulgar, but clothed his own pithy sayings in *braid Scottis*, and himself essayed a native version of the singing Psalms.

The English invasion, which brought to a romantic close, on Flodden Edge (p. 98), an active reign of nearly a quarter of a century, was significant of the unfortunate policy which marked the whole shifting course of events terminating with the battle of Langside (1568). For it brought into play the disturbing elements of France and England, operating on a country enfeebled by long minorities and internal feuds. The conduct of Henry VIII. during the minority of James V., and of Somerset during that of Mary, intensified the national antipathy to Union, while the regency of the Queen-mother, the English Margaret, was feeble and injudicious. The clergy, **From Flodden to Langside.**

headed by Mary of Guise and the Beatons, during the second minority, supported France and the old Church, and all the old antagonism that kept the Border ever in a ferment. The barons were either nationalists of a bygone type, paid supporters of English policy, or mere selfish opportunists. The people could only suffer in silence. The death of James IV. left the throne nominally to the Queen and her infant son, but really to the Douglases as the sturdiest of the barons. Their intolerable yoke the prince threw off when, one summer night, he rode away secretly from Falkland to Stirling, and proclaimed himself, scarcely sixteen, a feudal king. The "Red Tod" (fox), or the "King of the Commons," as James V. was familiarly called, showed honesty and firmness of purpose, but little political sagacity; while his disguises, amours, and train of jugglers and buffoons bespoke the crowned Bohemian. Well might Lyndsay exclaim, "Woe to the land that has owre young a king!" The boy-king had need of a wise head. Should he elect for union with England and a Reformed Church, or stand by the Romish priesthood, backed by France? The latter course alone seemed compatible with national and ecclesiastical independence. Beaton and the French policy prevailed. The king failed to keep tryst with his uncle at York, and at the head of a gay cavalcade he rode out from the Abbey Port of St. Andrews (1538) to meet his French bride, Mary of Guise. St. Andrews, Guise, Beaton—these were ominous figures on that stream of destiny that was to carry the king to an early grave.

MARGARET TUDOR.
(*Scottish National Portrait Gallery.*)

The death of the king in Falkland Palace (1542) brought two factions into strong rivalry—the Douglases, or English party, and the Hamiltons, or French party. The rough wooing

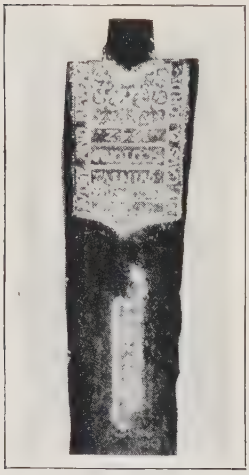
of the Princess Mary greatly damaged the English faction and the cause of reform. It was conducted by Hertford with ruthless savagery. Three successive expeditions—1544, 45, 47—tell their tale of woe. The Tudor Government would seem to have regarded their Northern neighbours as outside the pale of humanity. The policy which dictated such barbarism failed. The confused turmoil of intrigue that centres round the names and policies of Arran, Angus, and Beaton strengthened the hands of the Barons and paved the way for the league known as the "Lords of the Congregation." These speedily swept away the old Church, and thus effected the great revolution.

The Crown.

The three minorities of James V. (1513–28), Mary (1542–61), and James VI. (1568–84), following in quick succession, would have sorely tried a much more powerful monarchy than that of Scotland, which in respect of its Privy Council, Parliament, and revenues, was of the well-known feudal type. Of more importance in its bearing on social life is the administration of justice. The Chancellor, always a Churchman, was the king's legal adviser and chief minister. Two great lords acted as his justiciars, with subordinate local assessors. The Hanse or League of the Burghs played an important part in connection with the Justice Ayres or Circuit Courts, forming as it did a sort of burgher parliament to regulate trade and assist in causes appealed to the chamberlain as Chancellor of the Exchequer. It still exists as the Convention of Royal Burghs. Hereditary sheriffdoms were also established, and these continued till 1748. The abbots, too, followed by the barons, had courts for their burghs of barony, with the right of "pit and gallows" (p. 194),

Photo: W. Spooner & Co., Strand, W.C.
MARY OF GUISE.
(*Hampton Court Palace*)

and a baron-bailie to see execution done on the law-breakers according to the rough medieval code. But no man was to be hanged for less than the price of two sheep. In England one was enough to secure this penalty. All this left its mark for centuries in such popular phrases as "The thief's hole," and "Jeddart justice." The gallowleas, gallowhills, and gallowgates tell yet of the poor victim trudging to his doom, with arms caught behind by a stick, and finally being flung from the ladder by the deemster or lokman into eternity. Here the rough populace learned the force of the phrases so characteristic of the manners of the time—widdie-fou (hang-dog), thraw (twist) in a widdie (green withe used as a halter), girn (grin) in a widdie, gape in a gallows, rax (stretch) at the raip.



SWORD OF JAMES V.
(*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

James V. erected the Court of Session (1532) as a College of Justice on the model of the Parliament of Paris, acting on the advice of David Beaton, who had been educated in France. Here the clerical was for long the preponderating element. The Court sat thrice yearly, in places where the king determined. Juries were selected, without challenge, by the president.

Justice. The Consistory Courts dealt with tithes, church dues and fines; and from the nature of the case were extremely unpopular. Henryson, schoolmaster and notary of Dunfermline, gives a vivid picture of the procedure. In a dream Esop appears to him in the attire of a notary—brief in hand, quill behind the ear, inkhorn and pretty gilt *pennar* hanging from the gown, and silk bag at belt. The sheriff buys a forfeit at the king's hand, and with a cursed assize (jury) about him indicts poor John Up-o-land. The crownar or tipstaff, porteous (indictment) in hand, goes before the Ayre, but for a bude (bribe) scrapes out John and writes Will or Wat. "Quakand for cauld," the poor victim "kest up his ee into hevinnis sicht," exclaiming, "Lord God, quhy sleipis thu so lang?"

Dunbar's "Tidings from the Session" is a scathing satire put into the mouth of "a muirlandis man, lately lichted aff his mare," after a visit to Edinburgh in quest of justice. Lyndsay is still more outspoken. The interlude of the "Poor Man" in

Photo: Scott & Sons, Edinburgh.

JAMES V.

(*Scottish National Portrait Gallery.*)

the "Satire of the Three Estaits" (p. 147) is intensely realistic. Living on a poor croft in the Lothians, he had lent his gossip his mare to fetch coals from Tranent, but she was drowned in the old workings. The owner applied to the Consistory, but got only adjournments from day to day for the various stages of *citandumli, bellandum,* and so forth. But he "could never

ane word yet *understand 'em.* Many placks had to go in fees, and at last the rooks cried for sentence silver. But," he concludes, "I gat never my gude grey mare again."

The Church.

An unfortunate necessity made the Church political. It was regarded by the Beatons as the best support of the crown against the barons. Meanwhile two powerful forces were overlooked—wide social discontent, and a strong reforming wave from England. Lutheran books and English Bibles were smuggled over the Border with the connivance of Henry VIII. and his coadjutor, Arran. In Lyndsay's satire, "Verity" is put into the stocks for having an English Testament. Not till 1525, when the Lutheran movement was virtually over in Germany, do we hear of merchants bringing these heretical books over sea. Shortly afterwards (1528) Patrick Hamilton was burnt at the stake. Reading the Scriptures was made lawful in 1543, but was bitterly opposed by the clergy, many of whom were very ignorant. Some of the country clergy, Buchanan tells, thought the New Testament a work lately written by Luther. A bishop, trying a reforming vicar, thanked God that he had never known either the Old or the New Testament. The author of the "Complaint of Scotland," himself a cleric, introduces in his "Vision" Spirituality "sittand in ane chair, ane beuk in his hand, the claspis fast lokkit with rust." Preaching was the privilege of the friars, and even this duty they discharged only at Easter. The country districts were starved to keep up the monks and prelates, who stuck to their vested interests. Lyndsay says that at Doom, when Christ will say, "Come, ye blessed," the monks will not be able to forget their usual cry, *Nos sumus exempti!* The vicar's pension for parish work was always grudged, or even withheld with the bishop's consent. He was regarded merely as the steward to gather in the tithes, Pasch (Easter) presents, funeral and baptismal dues. Cosmo Innes says: "Of the many disputes between convents and rural vicars there is not one that turns on the cure of souls." Lyndsay contemptuously sums up the service:—

> "And meikl Latyne he did mummill,
> I heard naething but hummill bummill."

The Abbot, in Lyndsay's "Satire," sends his sons to Paris and carefully provides for his daughters. No wonder

penitents made a joke of the sackcloth gown and the kneeling in church, candle in hand; or of the vicar's cursing for petty theft. "Will he not," think the people, "give us a letter of cursing for a plack, to last a year, and curse all that look over our dike? That keepeth our cow better than a sleeping boy who will have three shillings a year, a sark, and a pair of shoon."

The Rural Economy.

Husbandry, oldest and most conservative of industries, ever enters most thoroughly into the every-day life of the people. It owed everything to the monks. In favoured spots of the Lothians, or where silvery Tweed sparkles by Melrose and Kelso, they brightened their cloisters with the scent of flowers and fruit, or the murmur of bees. In the deep holms by the river marge the corn ripened for the mill beside the brimming *dam;* the sheep and kine browsed amid the timber and *wattles* of the upland birchen-glades; while, higher still, the peateries and turbaries (coal-pits and quarries of these times) lay hid in the brown desolation of the moors. Their vassals or *natives* lived, in the turf and wattle huts that formed the *grange* or homestead, under the eye of a lay-brother as bailiff. Near by was the *toon* or hamlet of the cottars, next in the social scale; and beyond these were dotted over the vale the *clachans* of the kindly tenants. They farmed on a co-operative system known as the run-rig,[1] general down to the middle of the eighteenth century, and still surviving in the outer isles. Each *husband* kept two oxen, and six of them united to work the common plough. The arable land was allocated afresh, at intervals of three years, in narrow serpentine ridges (rigs) among the joint-tenants, who were bound, under the eye of the baron-bailie, to keep good neighbourhood, which meant fair-dealing in labour and the stocking of the *outfield* or common upland pasture. The lesser barons imitated the monks, and had their *mains,* corresponding to the *granges,* and still a common name for a farm. Beyond these lay the crofting townships of their kindly rentallers. Thus under the great barons there grew up that large class of freeholders by knight-service, who became the bonnet or cock lairds of a later age. In the Highlands they were the tacksmen or chieftains, and usually

[1 Compare the view of the common field, Vol. II., p. 135.]

cadets of the baronial house. They paid three marks yearly for each plowgate as *maill* or money-rent—a word that has entirely given place to the *ferme* (farm) or rent in kind, also known as *kain*, the *cens* of the Ancien Régime in France. These lairds had also their *natives* and husbandmen for labour in feudal services. More rarely the barons granted feus or perpetual ground-rents to foster under the wing of the castle, townships as rivals to the royal burghs.

Feudal Services.

Services or *customs* were exigible from all tenants in the shape of farm labour. For *carages*, or the carrying of *kain* (corn) to the ports, and storing peats, they had to furnish pack-horses. For short distances *slypes* or sleds were used, the wheel-less carts still seen in the Highlands. These services had originated at a time when the peasant was without capital and a mere tenant-at-will. In this way both the landlords and the clergy kept a hold on the *poor commonis*, not only in life, but when death appeared in the family. Thus the vicar claimed the "upmaist claithis," or bit of clothing as corse-present, either for funeral expenses or burial service. At the same time were also uplifted the kirk-cow, by the vicar, and by the laird, the best horse, styled *here-yed* or *heriot*, and latterly *caupe* or gift. Originally the heriot was a war-gift (here-geat), in return for arms granted to the vassal for use in war, but it became ultimately a fixed tax exigible on every plow-gang. A statute of 1617 prohibited the exaction, but it was not formally commuted till 1703. Lyndsay pathetically exposes the hardship of these exactions.

Peasant Life.

Henryson, native of a typical Lowland district, and brought up under the shadow of the rich abbey and palace of Dunfermline, has depicted peasant life in a style worthy of the author of that earliest and most delightful of pastorals, "Robene and Makyne" (Vol. II., p. 700). With fine feeling for rural charms he brings before us the sights and sounds of spring-time. He shows us the peasant sowing, the harrows hopping in the sower's trace, or in early morn his gadman and he yoking his steers *wi' Benedicite!* While he holds fast by the single upright stilt of the clumsy wooden mass, his mate, as caller or driver, shouts, "How, haik, up-on-hicht! Hald dracht, my dowis," in which we hear him

calling to the first pair of steady steers by name, guiding his *doves* now to make the share take less earth or again depress it. Then he goads the lazy with the *gad-wand*, but as most are young the plough oft leaves the furrow (*delirat*, as the Romans said), "so that the Husband waxes wroth, shouts, casts great stones, and even the *patill*"—a

DUNFERMLINE PALACE.

stick used to clear the share, the "murderin' pattle" that Burns was loth to throw at his favourite Mouse.

Crops.

The chief grain was oats, sown year after year on the same ground till it yielded but two returns. On the infield near the homestead *bere* (big or barley) was sown. But there was little manure, as the stock roamed everywhere under the herd's charge when corn was growing, from which they were

hunted off by the numerous dogs whose very names we know from Henryson. Very little wheat was grown till the present century. Nor were beans and pease common. Both sowing and reaping were late. Henryson, walking in June, sees the seeds growing high enough to hide the hares, and hears the quails *craikand*. Only enough corn was sown to supply the hamlet and the ferme-rents. The floods, which Gawin Douglas so graphically describes, made the fertile hollows useless save for coarse hay. Weeds abounded, notably the *gool* (wild chrysanthemum), a great source of annoyance to the baron-bailie. The wasteful Celtic custom of reaping only the ears and leaving the straw was too common. Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador, visiting Scotland in 1510, saw the straw standing so high after harvest as to reach his girdle. Green crops were unknown, yet Henryson surprises us by speaking of "a widderit neip" (withered turnip), a root which played no part in farming till two centuries later. It may have occasionally found a place in the monks' gardens. The sole pot-herb was lang-kale (colewort).

Condition of the Country.

Ayala has described the times of prosperity. His countrymen, in Flanders, report an improving trade. He himself is much struck with the large exports of stockfish, wool, and hides. Corn is said to be very good, but the husbandry bad. Less credible are the vast flocks of sheep, the populous towns and villages, and the stone houses with doors, glass windows, chimneys, and furnishings, such as one sees on the Continent. Native contemporary sources present a gloomier picture, specially the "Complaint of Scotland" (1548). Hertford's raids have left the author deeply despondent. His keen sympathy with the cause of labour is worthy of the best Socialist type. The peasant thinks that death is all that can be added to his persecutions. The laird's men come in hundreds and turn him out of the holding he has improved, to make room for a favourite. Or his rent or services are so heightened that he cannot get a living. The teinds are higher than the fertility of the soil justifies, and the vicar removes them at harvest, though wife and children should starve. "The worst wolves," says Henryson, "are lords that have lands *as a loan from God* and set them to *maillaris* (middlemen, tax men); then they harass the tenant ere half the term be gone to make his re-

move or pay the *grassum* (fine on renewal of lease) over again." Lyndsay's "Satire" is equally strong. Its proposals for social reform have all the dignity and force of a Commissioner's Report. Henry Charteris, his editor (1568), laments that they yielded no result. These agrarian abuses, the real motive force of the Reformation, so increased that by the middle of the century the author of the "Complaint" exclaims "As to juggis justice that rengis presently in our country, God may send a better when He pleases."

Life in the Capital.

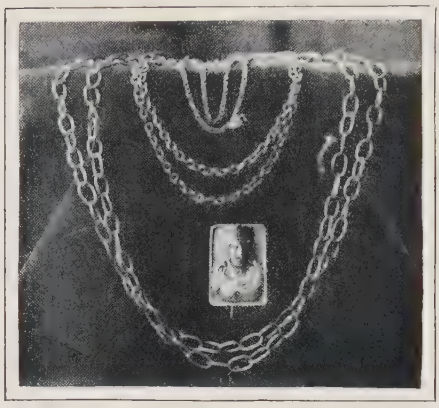
Edinburgh has always been a city unique in situation as in history. Dunbar graphically depicts the aspect of the one crowded and unsavoury street crowning the central ridge—St. Giles's Kirk darkened by hucksters' booths, the causeway and kennels filled with the litter of fish, flesh, and herb markets. Of the burgess-houses nothing now remains, for Hertford exposed the city to a three-days' burning. The nobles had not yet begun to reside here. The square tower of a gloomy fortalice, room rising above room from dungeon to bartizan, sufficed them. Charles II., after a brief stay in one of these, reported that he had been lodging in a crane's nest. An Act of 1504 recommended the nobles to surround their houses with parks and trees, but the modern residential mansion was not to be for a century yet. Little furniture encumbered the rush-strewn floors. The walls were painted, as Dunbar describes in his "Dream," or hung like those of Lyndsay's Squire Meldrum, who, when he went to repose,

Home Life.

> "Fand his chalmer weill arrayit
> With dornik [damask] work on board displayit."

When arras became common, this painting was confined to the ceilings, as in the hall of Falkland Palace. Carpets were rich hangings for gala use. When Queen Margaret visited Aberdeen in 1511, the magistrates ordered the people to "furnys graith the stairs (outer) of the forgait (main street) with arras work, as efferis" (is becoming). In daily use was the *buist*, or napery chest, the cupboard or open cabinet for cups and goblets, the *boyne* or *bowie* for liquor, the *bossie* or meat-trencher, the *mawn* or bread-basket. The kitchen had its *dresser* and its long settle or *bink*, and on the wall the *haik* or rack for plates (only pewter or wooden). In a corner stood the *awmrie*

for stores. The fire-logs were supported by andirons, and from the *broach* or spit hung the joints. Besides the common hall there were but two domestic rooms, the kitchen and the private chamber. Sheets of *harden* or sacking, and blankets of *plaiden* or tartan stuff, were used by all but the few who could afford what the Flemings imported. Water, light, and heat were dispensed on a limited scale. It is a pleasant surprise to learn that the water-pipes introduced into Linlithgow Palace in 1538 were discovered from recent excavations. Few people could import *long-candles;* most used resinous fir-spills, dug out of the bogs, or the *oil-crusie* or primitive saucer-shaped lamp. Wood and peat formed the fuel, the former in the shape of broom and heather carefully stacked even on the High Street of Edinburgh. The monks of Newbattle in the thirteenth century had begun to work the "sulphurous stone that burns," but it was not much used except in salt-making. Henryson's "Town and Country Mouse" vividly contrasts the meals and manners and the home life of a free burgess in *borrowis toon,* and a *carlin* living in "*sillie scheill* with door nocht high nor braid." While the latter's buttery has but water-kale and beans and pease. the former's spence can furnish *amond-bread* (pain d'amand) of fine flour baked with milk and eggs. The dress of the better classes differed but little from that of the English. Ayala considered it better, especially the female head-dress or *curche,* which he thought the best in the world. Dunbar censures "the fardingales on flanks fat as whales, and the long trains that sweep the *causey* clean." Finery was not wanting, such as Dunbar's gold neck-chains strung with *apill renieis,* probably



NECK CHAINS.
(*National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh.*)

Dress.

amber or *lammer* beads. The richest ornament was fur. It was a staple export of great variety and much value, and the peasant was a keen trapper. The *mertrik* or marten was the most valuable fur. The fox, the farmer's pest, and the wolf, his dreaded scourge, were trapped and speared as vermin. The general dress was home-made, from the wool and flax of the farm, prepared with the rock and distaff and whorl of amber, and woven on the narrow primitive loom. Leather

SCOTTISH SHOES OF PRIMITIVE TYPE.

(*National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh.*)

was largely used as clothing, and the tanner was an important craftsman. The shoemaker shared in the unpopularity of the tailor and the miller. Dunbar says he was too foul even for the fiend, who shouted, "Go, cleanse thee clean!" He used his teeth to soften the leather, "wi' ugly gums gnawin'." His triumph was the huge jack-boots of the knight, stiff and high as milk-pails. The masses went barefoot, or made their own shoes out of the raw hide. These were similar to the *rivlins* of the Shetlanders and the *velschoen* (fell-shoes) of the Cape Boer. Loose hose hung like a skirt down to the knees, and beneath the jacket of leather was the *wily-coat*, which, not being seen, "slyly keeps men warm."

The Poor.

In the Northern winter the poor peasant must have been sore bestead. Without sown grasses and turnips there could have been little milk, and flesh would be rare, for salt was scarce and dear. The thrifty might have a cheese on the shelf and meal in the kist, but the mass would have to be content with *drummock* (meal and water) and water-kale. Douglas sketches, in low tones, the effects of winter floods, frosts, and blasts: and Henryson depicts the situation with more concentrated force. Every third year came dearth, and plague close on its heels. Burghs were merciless to *gangrel bodies*, who were driven from hamlet to hamlet, begging with pikestaff and wallet as they wended their way to the fair or the kirk-stile—the legitimate begging places. Wild times were always adding to the bands of broken men and *sorners*. Saddest of all was the lot of the leper. For him was the *spital*, and there he sat at the gate with *caup* (basin) and clapper for the passing alms, while not far off was the gibbet for the inmate who strayed out of bounds. Henryson's Cresseid is condemned to the life of a leper, and he paints the symptoms of the disease—bloodshot eyes, voice unpleasant and hoarse, lusty face overspread with black spots and lumps.

Popular Sports.

Life was not all poverty and gloom. Such popular poetry as "Peebles to the Play," "Robene and Makyne," "The Wife of Auchtermuchty," "The Wooing of Jenny and Jock," show no lack of humour. Beltane, Yule, and the Robin Hood processions of the craftschilder made singing, dancing, and mimicry popular. For the peasant there was the long picnic of the summer sheilings, such as we have described in the "Complaint of Scotland," with all its wealth of popular tale, song, and dance. The nobles amused themselves with hawking. The king had, at one or two of his castles, an enclosed park with fallow deer, and these were ridden down and secured with dog and bolt. The chase which opens the "Lady of the Lake" is pure romance, though the scene is laid in James V.'s reign. A Highland chief mustered his serfs for an occasional deer-drive, known in Gaelic as the *tinchell*. Cruives or wattled enclosures at the river mouth formed, with spearing in the pools, the only fishing practised. Lyndsay's abbot amused himself with *caiche* (fives), cards,

tables (draughts), and dice. James IV. played at *kiles* (kayles, nine-pins) when at Glenluce. In Henryson's fable the Wolf calls to the Fox, "Lawrence, thou playis *bellie-blind*." This child's game flourished along with the *peerie* (peg-top) and *palall* (hop-scotch). The *tee-totum* is used by Dunbar to mark his own lack of preferment in comparison with Up-o-land's Michell (*ch* pronounced as a guttural aspirate), who now sells dispensations, "though he frae nolt (cattle) had ta'en new leave. He plays with totum and I with nichell" (nihil).

Trade and Commerce.

The "Ledger of Andrew Halyburton" (1492–1503), Conservator of Scottish Customs at Veere, near Middelburg in Flanders,[1] not only shows us the everyday business of a commission merchant, but throws a flood of light on the social life of the time. His customers are rich prelates and solid burgesses in Leith, Dundee, and Aberdeen, who consign to him for sale wool, hides, fur, and salmon. The same ships come and go, and the shipmasters have such notable names as Barton and Wood. The ships, too, are roomy, for the abbots sometimes bring their horses with them when they are to travel in Flanders. Money in coin neither comes nor goes except when the churchmen send to Rome for benefices and dispensations of marriage within the forbidden degrees; or when, on one occasion, Halyburton transmits a sum through England to purchase pearls in Scotland. When any of his correspondents come over he supplies them with money for personal expenses. The Archdeacon of St. Andrews and his train stay with Halyburton, and their reckoning is entered in the "Ledger." The son of another correspondent takes a pleasure trip to Flanders, bringing with him a pack of cloth to pay expenses, among which we have an item for hair-cutting and a large outlay for fine clothes. Cloth in very small quantities, such as Peebles white, and again a parcel to be returned dyed, along with a little salt, are the only evidence of the export of any Scotch manufacture. Of the wool some fleeces come in a rotten condition, and of the salmon a barrel now and again turns out sour. The goods thus sent

[1 Where Scottish merchants were established, with very brief intermissions, from 1444 till all special privileges of corporate bodies were abolished under the Batavian Republic in 1795.]

are disposed of at the fairs of Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, or to itinerant traders, the commission being included in the item for *oncosts*. The proceeds are laid out in a miscellaneous assortment, packed in bales and barrels, known as *pyps* and *rondals*. The entries are full of human interest. Here we have the life within the great cloisters, now lying in shapeless ruin, the rich robes and altar-cloths, the chalices, the images, and even altar-tombs. Abbots get puncheons of claret with sugar and comfits for their mulled possets. Some pay the expenses of their sons in Flanders. The Archdeacon of St. Andrews gets tiles and a mat for his chamber floor. A few parcels of books appear. Soap, candles, dyestuffs, and vinegar and cloth are sent, but no tools. Iron is represented only by andirons to support the great fire-logs. Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen has to send his watch to Flanders to be fitted with a new case. Halyburton reverently heads each account with the name *Jhesus*. Occasionally he has an entry for "licoris at the selling." He is on good terms with all his customers except his brother-in-law, on whose conduct he animadverts in severe terms. "As for the rest of the Scots money, he payit me wi' challenges [reproaches] and evill wordis and onsufferabyll. God keip all guid men fra sic callandis [fellows]!"

P. W. JOYCE. Ireland and England, 1169-1558.

THE customs and social life of the Irish people, as described by Giraldus Cambrensis, and other writers, both native and English, grew up in remote times, and were maintained with no very great change for at least four centuries after the Anglo-Norman invasion.

We know that Ireland was anciently pre-eminent for her schools and colleges, and that her scholars and missionaries greatly helped to spread learning and religion all over England and the Continent. Through wars and tumults the ancient love of learning survived, and the schools struggled on and maintained their existence to comparatively recent times, though fallen from their ancient greatness. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, flourishing schools, both general and professional—for Law, Medicine, History, Literature, Classics, Poetry—were kept in various parts of the country

by the families of O'Clery, O'Coffey, MacEgan, and others. These were all private schools with no state aid.

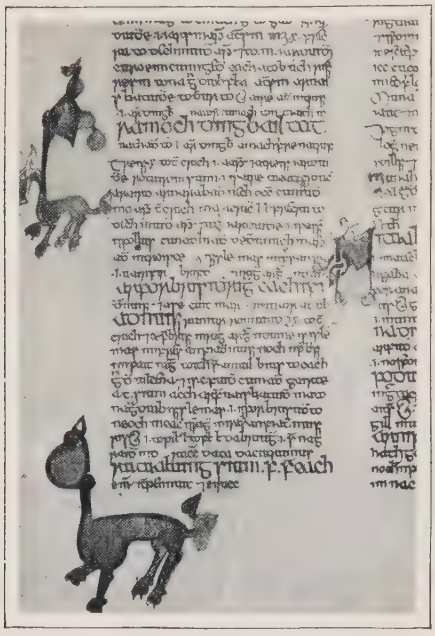
One of the results of the general spread of literature was the production of books. Good scribes were held in much honour; and to make a copy of a book was justly considered a very meritorious work. The native scribes wrote into their books everything they thought worth preserving; and libraries grew up in monasteries, colleges, and private houses. Though most of these collections were scattered and destroyed in troubled

Photo: W. Lawrence, Dublin.

STAIGUE FORT, KERRY.

times, great numbers of the old books are still preserved in Dublin and elsewhere, of all ages, from the fifth or sixth century down. Most are in the Irish language; but there is a good deal of Latin. The practice of transcribing continued down to a late period; and several of the largest and most important of the manuscript volumes still in existence were written from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. The books contain pieces on every conceivable subject—annals, history, biography, romance, law, medicine, science, etc. In some cases, one book, usually small, is devoted to one special subject. But most of the large volumes are miscellaneous collections, such as the "Book of Leinster," a huge folio of about 1,000 pieces on

various subjects, containing about six times as much matter as "Rob Roy." Many of the romantic stories are founded on history, and are in the main true, but embellished with fiction like the modern historical novel. The Annals are among the most important of the Irish writings for the elucidation of Irish history; for the annalists were most careful about the truth of what they recorded. There are many collections of Irish annals, mostly in the native tongue, with a mixture of Latin.



PASSAGE FROM THE "LIBER HYMNORUM."
(*Trinity College, Dublin.*)

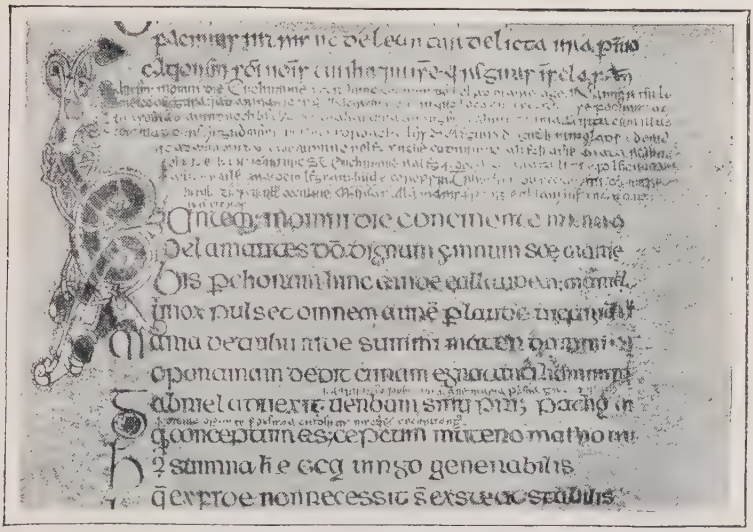
A native code of law, very extensive and minute in detail, gradually grew up in Ireland, and continued in force till the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was administered by *Brehons* or judges specially trained; and hence it is commonly known as the Brehon law. There were collections of the laws in books, all in the Irish language, many of which have come down to us, and several have been translated and published. In accordance with the Brehon Code, all injuries to person or property, including homicide, were atoned for—as anciently among the Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Germans, and Greeks—by a compensation payment; the amount was determined by the Brehon who tried the case. Payment for homicide or personal injury of any kind was called *Eric*. The Brehon law did not prescribe capital punishment. Every Irish king kept a brehon among his household to manage his legal affairs. When the colonists began to adopt Irish customs (p. 410 *infra*), they adopted also the Brehon law;

The Brehon Code.

and many of the Anglo-Irish nobility kept brehons like the Irish kings.

Structure of Society.

As in all early stages of Aryan society, the clan system prevailed; and it continued to a recent period. The people were formed into groups of various sizes—families, clans or septs, and tribes. The tribe was made up of several clans; the clan of several families. Clans and tribes were supposed to be descended from common parents; but this was in great measure a fiction, as adoption of strangers was common in all the groups. Tribes and



PASSAGE FROM A BREHON LAW TRACT.

(Trinity College, Dublin.)

clans were governed by chiefs; the chiefs of the clans forming a tribe were subject and tributary to the chief of the tribe. The chief of a very large tribe was a *ri* (*ree*) or king; there were many of these *urrees* or sub-kings. The chiefs or kings of tribes owed allegiance to the kings of their several provinces, of which there were five:—Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, Munster, and Meath. The provincial kings, again, owed allegiance—at least nominally—to the *Ard-ri* or over-king, *i.e.* the king of all Ireland; but after 1172 there was no over-king. In each clan, tribe, or kingdom, there was a ruling family from which

the king or chief should be chosen; but with this limitation the office was elective. The king or chief had a tract of land assigned to him for his support; and besides this source of revenue, each tribesman paid him subsidies of several kings.

Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill, W.

CROSS AND ROUND TOWER, MONASTERBOICE.

Spenser has a curious description of the ceremonies of inauguration as he saw them in the time of Elizabeth, agreeing with the native accounts.

The land occupied by the tribe was held in several ways. Each sept of the tribe was confined to a particular portion.

SHRINE OF ST. PATRICK'S BELL

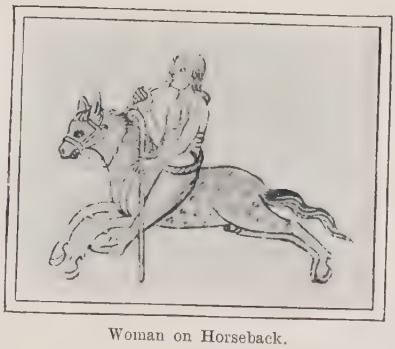
(Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.)

Kerns.

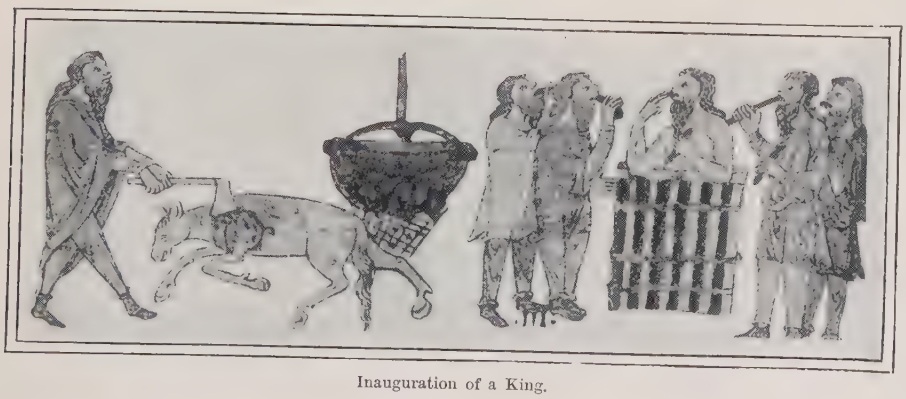
St. Kevin's Blackbird.

An Irish Harpist.

A Coracle.



Woman on Horseback.



Inauguration of a King.

SCENES FROM IRISH LIFE, AS DESCRIBED BY GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS (MS. Roy. 13 B. vii.).

The Land System.

A part of the land was owned as private property. The chief, whether of the sept or of the tribe, had a mensal estate for life. All the rest of the arable land, forming by far the greatest part, was "Tribe-land"—that is to say, owned by the tribesmen in common. Every member had a right to a share; but the tribe-land of the sept was liable to redistribution from time to time, under the following custom:—When a tenant who held a part of the tribe-land died, his farm did not go to his children, but all the tribe-land belonging to the sept (excluding mensal land and private property) was re-divided among all the male adult members of the sept, including the dead man's sons. This was called Gavelkind—a custom which was formerly common all over Europe, and which, in a modified form, still exists in Kent. The non-arable land—mountain, bog, forest—called "Commons" land—was not appropriated by individuals; but all had a right to the use of it. Land descended in *three* ways:—First, as private property, in the usual way, from parents to children; second, by Tanistry, *i.e.* the mensal land held by a king or chief went to his successor, not to his heir; third by Gavelkind, as already explained. The Irish land customs were abolished by James I.

Rights of the Chief.

Certain free tenants of a low grade were bound, along with the ordinary subsidies, to give *Coinmed* or *Coyney* to the chief —that is, the chief was privileged to go with his followers at certain seasons to the house of the tenant, who had to supply the company with food and drink. Number, time, and food were regulated by law in each case. The Anglo-Irish lords imitated and abused this custom by what came to be called "Coyne and Livery," which was this:—A military leader sent his soldiers with arms in their hands among the colonists (seldom among the native Irish) to exact their own pay in money and food. They were under hardly any restraint of law, custom, or discipline, and often committed fearful crimes. The native Irish custom was bad, but this was ten times worse; and the Anglo-Irish lords practised it for centuries, notwithstanding many Acts of Parliament against it.

The leading Anglo-Irish chiefs all through the country lived during this period, as well as since the invasion, in strongly fortified stone castles. Each castle was surrounded by a *bawn*, a large space enclosed by a stone wall. Within this lived the

servants and immediate retainers of the house- **Home Life.**
hold in thatched houses ranged round the wall
inside; and the bawn was used for other
purposes — games and exercises, sheltering
cattle at night, etc. The Irish chiefs very
generally adopted the same custom, having
gradually abandoned their old circular
earthen forts and wooden dwellings. But
in some cases, even in the time of Elizabeth,
we find them using the old *crannogs* —

THE CROSS OF CONG.
(*Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.*)
(*Photo: W. G. Moore, Dublin.*)

stockaded dwellings on artificial islands in
lakes or marshes. During the whole of
the reign of Elizabeth, a large proportion of
the peasantry, crushed by war, famine, and
pestilence, driven from their homes, and having
lost all their little property, settled down
where they could, on mere sufferance, and
became what were sub- sequently known as
tenants at will, paid rack-rents, and lived in
a state of great misery. Spenser, Davies, and
other early English writers, describe the
condition of such tenants as worse than
that of bond slaves. But others were more
independent and lived comfortably.

In accordance with the custom of *Fosterage*,
a man sent his child to be reared and educated
in the home and with the family of another
member of the tribe. Fosterage, which was
the closest tie of friendship between
families, was very common, and continued
to be practised till recent times. *Gossipred*
— a person standing sponsor for a friend's
child at baptism—was also very general. The
Anglo-Irish adopted both customs, and

fostered and gossiped with the natives in spite of severe Acts of Parliament.

Bards. Attached to the household of every Irish chief were a harper, a bard or rhymer, and a *Shanachie* or historian, who were much respected and well paid for their services. The Anglo-Irish nobility almost universally adopted the same custom: in 1534, when young Lord Thomas Fitzgerald—"Silken Thomas"—flung down his state sword and renounced allegiance to Henry VIII., he had in his train an Irish bard who stimulated him in his mad career. Bards, shanachies, and harpers were

Photo: H. Holborn, Clonmel.

THE ROCK OF CASHEL.

always present at banquets and on festive occasions of every kind, to instruct and amuse the family and guests. The harper played the exquisite Irish airs, or the bard recited his poetry or the shanachie commemorated the ancestors of the chief, or recited some romantic tale of old times; and if they acquitted themselves well, the company listened with rapt attention, and rewarded them with valuable presents. In the time of Elizabeth severe laws were passed against bards and shanachies.

Warfare The Irish did not much use cavalry. They had two kinds of foot-soldiers. The *Galloglasses*, who are described as large-limbed, tall, and fierce-looking, were heavily armed with long sword, mail, iron helmet, and broad battleaxe. The Irish

adopted the use of armour chiefly from the English; but they never took well to it, preferring to fight in their saffron tunics, which lost them many a battle. The Galloglasses were celebrated by English writers for the dexterity and skill with

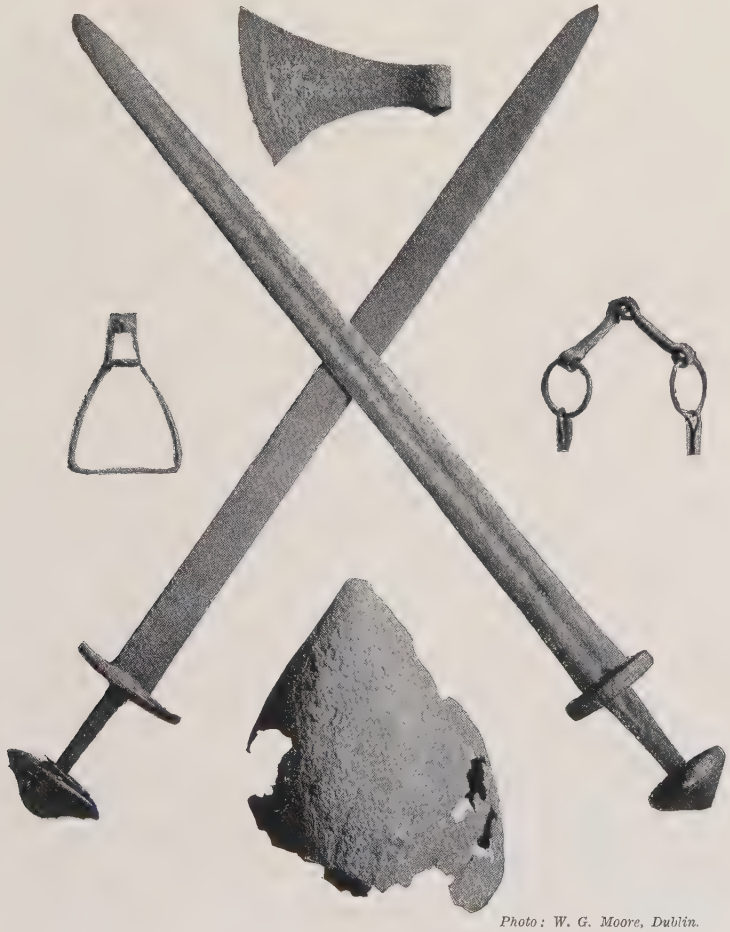


Photo: W. G. Moore, Dublin.

WEAPONS AND ACCOUTREMENTS.
(*Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.*)

which they used the axe in battle. The *Kern* were light-armed footmen, who fought with a *skean*, or sharp-edged dagger, and a javelin. Kern and Galloglasses figure much in the Irish wars of Elizabeth. The best defence of the Irish was the

nature of the country—full of bogs and quagmires, and covered with impenetrable forests, which abounded everywhere down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and their most effective strategy, which they often used with success, was to hang on the skirts of a hostile army on march, attacking and slaying when opportunity offered, and when pressed, retiring to their fastnesses with the swiftness of stags.

A HORSEMAN.[1]

As to dress, the men wore a large frieze mantle or overall, which covered them to the ankles, tight-fitting trousers, and a cone-shaped hat without leaf. The women wore ample flowing tunics of saffron colour; matrons had a kerchief on the head, unmarried girls went bare-headed.

History. In the years 1169 and 1170 a number of Cambro-Norman adventurers, under the chief leadership of Earl Richard de Clare, commonly known as Strongbow, sailing from Wales, landed in Wexford, took Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, and other towns, and formed settlements in the country. King Henry II. came over in 1171; and having taken possession of the conquered towns and territories, he went through the form of receiving the submission of the Irish kings, and of annexing the whole country in 1172. But the submission and annexation were purely fictitious. Colonists continued to arrive, and the settlement extended, the Irish kings, on account of their own dissensions, not yet offering any very serious resistance. King John, visiting in 1210 with a great army, parcelled out that part of the country under English jurisdiction into twelve counties, in which English law was to be administered.

A HORSEMAN.

[1] This and the three following figures are from the Book of Kells, and are inserted by the permission of the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin.]

The people of Ireland, heartily sick of anarchy, would at this time have welcomed any strong government able and willing to protect them: and with proper management might have been brought, in a reasonable time, to settle down under the authority of the English kings. But the mistaken policy initiated by Henry II., and carried out by subsequent kings and governments, prevented all this. The force employed was just sufficient to keep the country in perpetual turmoil, but never sufficient for conquest. The Anglo-Irish barons were allowed too much power, and carried on continual wars both against each other and against the natives; and no central government was maintained in the country strong enough to curb them. But the most fatal and disastrous mistake of all was this. The government, instead of treating the natives as subjects, persisted from the beginning in designating and treating them as "Irish enemies"—not to be governed and cared for, but to be kept at arm's length or exterminated. This perverse and wholly unnecessary policy vitiated the relations of England with Ireland then and to all subsequent time, and brought endless disaster and woe to both natives and colonists. For the natives, who might have been made good subjects by moderate and prudent treatment, had to fight for their lives; and, bad as was the state of the country before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, it was infinitely worse after. As a direct consequence of this wholesale mismanagement, it took more than four centuries, with incalculable loss of blood and treasure, to accomplish the conquest of Ireland. All this was pointed out three centuries ago by a fair-minded and very able Englishman, Sir John Davies.

A THIRSTY SOUL.

A SOLDIER.

The English kings governed the colony through local rulers

The English Rule.

resident in Dublin, who from time to time were designated by various titles, such as governor, viceroy, lord-justice or justiciary, lieutenant, lord-lieutenant, deputy or lord-deputy—these two last when the person governed for an absent viceroy.

Soon after the time of King John, the native Irish, taking advantage of the dissensions of the barons, began to recover the lands that had been taken from them; the settlement grew gradually feebler and the territory smaller; and the colonists, so far from extending their conquests, had to fight for existence. A whole century of turmoil was brought to a climax by the invasion of Edward Bruce, who, in 1315, came over with a Scottish army at the invitation of the Ulster chiefs, to crush the English and make himself king of Ireland. He traversed the country in different directions for three and a half years, during which Ireland, or a great part of it, was a sort of pandemonium; and after defeating the English in eighteen successive battles without a reverse, he was himself defeated and slain at Faughart, near Dundalk, in 1318. Though his expedition failed, it shook the English power to its foundation—almost destroyed it—and weakened and demoralised the government for centuries.

The Immigrants Hibernicised.

The colonists dispersed through the country, and the descendants of colonists, had all along shown a decided tendency to intermarry with the natives and to become incorporated with them. Soon after Bruce's invasion this movement became almost universal, from a two-fold cause. First, there was a general uprising of the Irish; and the colonists, seeing them prevail everywhere (except round Dublin), joined them for mere safety and protection. Secondly, the government turned the colonists into enemies by unwise treatment. A distinction had all along been made between New English and Old English—English by birth and English by blood; and Englishmen got all the valuable situations and were placed over the heads of the older colonists, whom they despised and insulted. The colonists were, as it were, driven into the arms of the natives by the mischievous policy of the government. They adopted the Irish language, dress, and customs, till at last they became, in the complaining language of an English writer, *Hiberniores Hibernis ipsis*—more Irish than the Irish themselves. These were called "Degenerate English" by the loyalist people, who

FIGURES FROM THE BREAC MAODHOG.

hated them even more than they did the natives; and their hate was repaid by hate with equal bitterness. To such an extent was this estrangement driven that, later on, some of the Anglo-Irish lords were among the most dangerous rebels against the government.

While the Brehon law prevailed among the native Irish, the colonists lived under English law. But English law did not extend to the Irish people; so that an Englishman might injure or even murder a "mere Irishman" with impunity: there was no redress. In the reign of Edward I., and again in that of

FIGURES FROM THE BREAC MAODHOG.
(*Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.*)

Edward III., the Irish petitioned to be relieved from this intolerable hardship by being placed under English law; but the petition—which these two great kings would have granted if left to themselves—was refused in both cases, chiefly through the malign influence of the selfish Anglo-Irish barons, whose interest it was to keep the country embroiled, and to whom the kings weakly yielded.

FIGURES FROM THE BREAC MAODHOG.

The Statute of Kilkenny.

The miseries of the people, both colonists and natives, increased and multiplied as time went on. During the whole of the fourteenth century there were wars, famines, and malignant plagues, and the colony seemed threatened with extinction. At last King Edward III. sent over his son Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence, as lord-lieutenant, to settle matters. This prince had an insane hatred of native Irish as well as of Anglo-Irish. He seems to have believed that all the evils arose from the ever-increasing intercourse of the two races; and his great remedy was the Statute of Kilkenny, passed in 1367, the main object of which was to prevent all intercourse between them, and all adoption of Irish customs by the English. It was an attempt to separate Irish and English completely and for evermore. But this mischievous Act was found impossible to carry out—for human nature proved stronger than law; and after a time it became a dead letter.

Richard II. visited Ireland twice—in 1394 and 1399—with an army of about 34,000 each time, spending immense sums for nothing, for he effected no permanent good. He was harassed all through by Art MacMurrogh Kavanagh, king of Leinster; and on the second occasion was near losing his whole army among the Wicklow highlands. After this king's time, and especially during the Wars of the Roses, the English power in Ireland grew weaker than ever; but soon after the accession of the Tudors it began to recover.

The Irish Parliament.

The Irish colonists had all along a parliament free to make its own laws. But Henry VII., provoked by the favourable reception the Anglo-Irish had given to Simnel and Warbeck, caused the Irish Parliament—under the deputy, Sir Edward Poynings—to pass "Poynings' Law" in 1494, which destroyed Irish legislative independence by making the consent of the English king and council necessary before parliament could be summoned or a bill introduced. Towards the end of the reign of Henry VII. the colonial territory had shrunk to its smallest dimensions, including portions of only four counties round Dublin. The wretched colonists were harassed by coyne and livery and other exactions, by wars and plagues; and they had to pay "black rents" to the neighbouring Irish chiefs to purchase that protection against the fierce raids of the natives which the government were unable or unwilling to afford them.

IRISH MEDIEVAL COSTUME.

(*Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.*)

This little territory was called the Pale: soon after this time it became gradually enlarged.

Ireland at the Reformation.

Henry VIII., by his strong will, succeeded in restoring the almost extinct English power in Ireland. The Irish chiefs were induced to acknowledge him as spiritual head of the Church; but he failed to bring the Irish people as a body to do so. On the whole he treated the Irish considerately and kindly; and at the close of his reign the country was submissive and quiet, and the English power in Ireland was stronger than it ever had been before.

But the quiet was of short duration. After Henry's death two new sources of strife appeared; for the government attempted to force the Reformation on the people of Ireland; and they also began to *plant* various districts with colonies from England and Scotland, for which the native owners were to be expelled. The Plantations succeeded to some extent: the attempt to Protestantise the Irish, though continued resolutely for three centuries, was a failure. These two projects were the cause of nearly all the subsequent dreadful rebellions and wars that desolated the unhappy country.

BALLYMOON CASTLE, CARLOW.

AUTHORITIES, 1547–1558.

The following works may be added to the list given for Chap. IX:—

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Religion.—Strype, *Life of Cranmer* and *Annals of the Reformation.* Publications of the Parker Society, *e.g.*, *Works* of Cranmer, Ridley, and Jewell; *Original Letters*, 1537-1558; occasional references in Froude's *History of England;* Blunt, *History of the Reformation*, Vol. II.; Perry, *History of the English Church.* On the history of the English Bible, the best books are: Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible* (2 vols., 1845); Lewis, *History of the English Bible;* Lovett, *The Printed English Bible.*

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Macgibbon and Ross, *Domestic and Castellated Architecture of Scotland. Social Life.*—The cartularies and registers of most of the religious houses—*e.g.*, Kelso, Melrose, Paisley, Cupar—are accessible, and illustrate the rural life. So do, *e.g.* Barbour's *Bruce*, and popular poetry like *Christ's Kirk on the Green* and *Peblis to the Play*.

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THE TARA TORQUE.

(*Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.*)

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